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WITHDRAWN

THE MOST IMPORTANT MESSAGE EVER COMMUNICATED BY AN ANGEL
(See Appendix A)

The Missions and Missionaries of California

New Series. Local History

San Gabriel Mission

AND THE

Beginnings of Los Angeles

BY

Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.

Author of "The Missions and Missionaries," "The Franciscans in Arizona," "Mission Dolores," "Mission San Diego," "Mission Santa Barbara," "Mission San Juan Capistrano," etc., etc.

"Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant," John, vi, 12.

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REV. T. K. GORMAN, D.Sc.,
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PREFACE

Mission San Gabriel, at the height of its prosperity not inaptly called *The Pride of the Missions,* was the northernmost of the four Indian missionary establishments under the military jurisdiction of the presido at San Diego. In point of time it held the second place. Among the Twenty-One Missions along the California Coast it was the fourth, being preceded only by the Missions of San Diego, San Carlos, and San Antonio.

The garrison of San Diego provided the guards who were supposed to supply the military protection for the four Missions in the district against attacks from Indian savages. Unfortunately, these soldier guards, in the first years and especially at San Gabriel, proved far more dangerous to the stability of the Mission than the savage Indians roundabout. In other ways, too, the zealous Missionary Fathers encountered such unexpected and manifold difficulties as only heroic patience deeply grounded in Christian Faith could endure and turn to good account in behalf of their dusky wards. The Tables on the Spiritual and Material Results relate a graphic story of this unselfish endeavor which intelligent and unbiased readers will not fail to comprehend and appreciate.

We have in this volume devoted considerable space to the discussion of the sad end of the Missions in general, because the *Crime of the Nineteenth Century* in California—the willful, unwarranted and unauthorized destruction of the twenty-one beneficient Indian Training Schools—was planned and accomplished at Los Angeles; the chief conspirator was born and baptized at San Gabriel; and he lived and died at Los Angeles.

The readers will also, for the first time, from this volume learn the true facts about the founding of the City of Los Angeles.

We are happy to note that in our own days Old Mission San Gabriel has experienced a resurrection and has acquired new importance, in that it has become the center of the zealous activity of a comparatively new Religious Order or Congregation. The American Province of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary decided to locate its seminary and novitiate together with the residence of the Very Rev. Father Provincial in the shadow of the venerable Old Mission of San Gabriel Arcangel. *Que Dios lo bendiga y prospere!*

True to the spirit and practice of their holy Founder, who delighted in assisting impecunious writers to publish their works, the Father Superior of the Old Mission, Rev. John Maíztegui, since then consecrated Bishop and appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Darien, enabled the author to publish this history of Mission San Gabriel by generously ordering 3000 copies for his community. They will be sold for the benefit of the Seminary.

THE AUTHOR.

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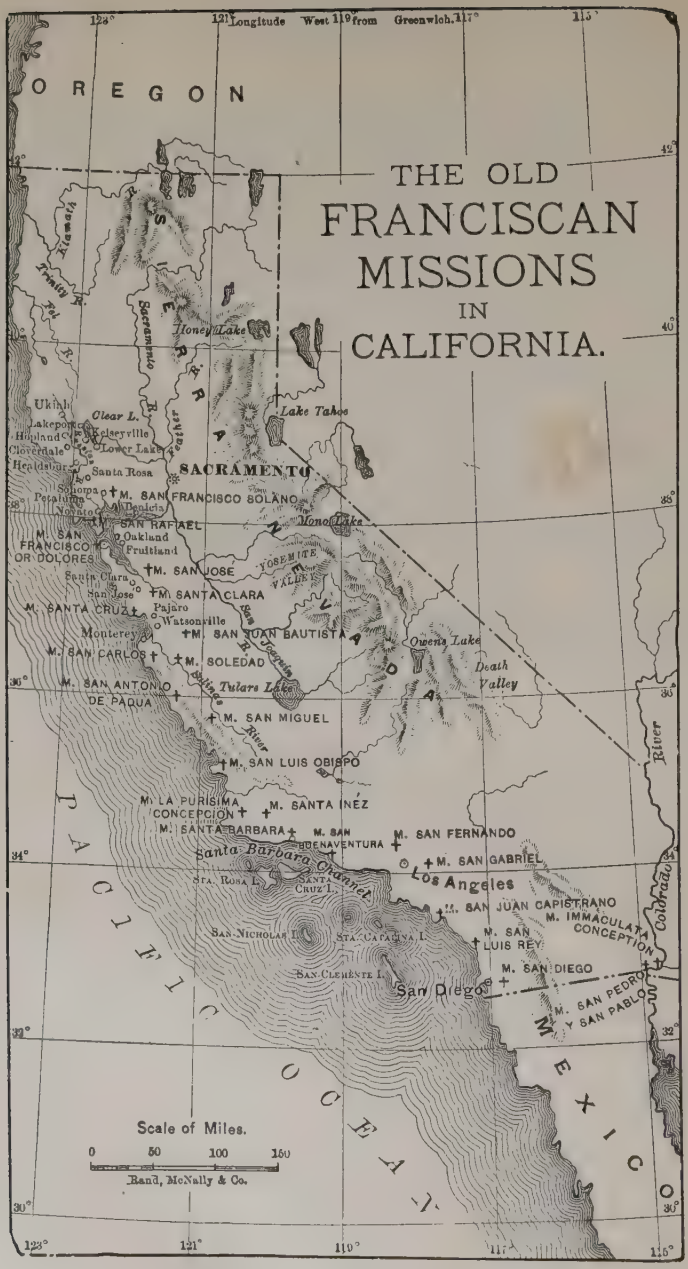
FIRST MILITARY DISTRICT
IV
SAN GABRIEL MISSION
(1771-1852)


THE OLD
FRANCISCAN
MISSIONS
IN
CALIFORNIA.
Longitude West from Greenwich
OREGON
SIERRA NEVADA
Sacramento R.
Trinity R.
Klamath R.
Pitt R.
Honey Lake
Lake Tahoe
Clear L.
Ukiah
Lakeport
Highland
Cloverdale
Healdsburg
Kelseyville
Lower Lake
Santa Rosa
SACRAMENTO
Sonoma
Petaluma
Novato
M. SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO
Al Denicia
SAN RAFAEL
Oakland
Fruitland
M. SAN FRANCISCO OR DOLORES
Santa Clara
San Jose
M. SAN JOSE
M. SANTA CLARA
Pajaro
M. SANTA CRUZ
Watsonville
Monterey
M. SAN JUAN BAUTISTA
M. SAN CARLOS
M. SOLEDAD
M. SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA
Salinas River
Tulare Lake
M. SAN MIGUEL
M. SAN LUIS OBISPO
M. LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION
M. SANTA INÉZ
M. SANTA BARBARA
M. SAN BUENAVENTURA
M. SAN FERNANDO
M. SAN GABRIEL
Los Angeles
Santa Barbara Channel
STA. ROSA I.
SANTA CRUZ I.
M. SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO
M. IMMACULATA CONCEPTION
SAN NICHOLAS I.
STA. CATALINA I.
M. SAN LUIS REY
SAN CLEMENTE I.
M. SAN DIEGO
San Diego
M. SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO
Yosemite Valley
Owens Lake
Death Valley
Colorado River
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150
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CHAPTER I

Name of the Mission.—First Missionaries.—Locality.—Picture of Our Lady of Sorrows Charms the Savages.—Beginnings.—Disorderly Soldiers.—Indians Aroused.—Battle.—Savages Terrified.—Soldiers Frustrate Mission Work.—Fr. Junípero Serra.—Goes to Mexico.—His Awful Indictment of Captain Fages and Soldiers.—Corporal Góngora Aids the Fathers.—First Attempts at Agriculture Fail.—Fr. Serra's Success.

THE resolution to establish a mission in California under the patronage of St. Gabriel, the Archangel, was taken by Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix in August or September, 1770. It was the result of a petition from Fr. Junípero Serra who urged the founding of a chain of missions that should reach from San Diego to San Francisco Bay. As a sufficient number of Franciscan friars had arrived from Spain a few months before, De Croix determined to locate five new missions at suitable distances north of San Diego. Among those named was San Gabriel.

The two Fathers selected to begin the work of conversion were Fr. Angel Somera and Fr. Pedro Benito Cambón. Fr. Serra and Captain Pedro Fages, the military commander, agreed that the Mission should be placed near the Rio de Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores (River of Earthquakes), so named by the Portolá expedition of 1769, but better known as the Rio de Santa Ana. It was near this spot that the expedition of 1769 had camped on its way to the north in search of Monterey Bay and again on its return march. The place lay in a valley they had called San Miguel.

Fathers Somera and Cambón had arrived at San Diego from Monterey in the *San Antonio* on July 14, 1770. They had set out for their destination on August 6, escorted by ten soldiers as guards for the establishment and followed by packmules carrying the goods and provisions under the protection of four additional soldiers and four muleteers. "They traveled toward the north," says Fr. Palóu, "on the road taken by the

expedition of 1769. After marching about forty leagues, they arrived at the Rio de los Temblores. Just as they were deliberating about the choice of a site, a great multitude of savages, armed and headed by two chiefs, appeared and with frightful yells attempted to prevent the founding of the Mission. Fearing that a battle might ensue and that some might be killed, one of the Fathers produced a canvas picture of Our Lady of Sorrows and put it in view of the savages. No sooner had he done this than all, overcome by the sight of the beautiful image, threw down their bows and arrows. The two chiefs quickly ran up to lay at the feet of the Sovereign Queen as tokens of their greatest esteem the beads they wore on the neck. By the same action they manifested their desire to be at peace with us. They called upon all the neighboring rancherias who in large numbers flocked together, men, women, and children, and came to see the Most Holy Virgin. They also brought seeds, which they left at the feet of the Most Holy Lady, imagining that she would eat like the rest.

"The sight of the image of our Lady transformed the savages around Mission San Gabriel so that they made frequent visits to the Fathers, not knowing how else to express their satisfaction for having come to stay in their country. The friars in turn sought to correspond by kindness and gifts. The Fathers proceeded to explore the vast plain and finally began the Mission in a place which they thought suitable, with the same ceremonies that have been observed at other missions. The first holy Mass was celebrated under a shelter made of boughs, on the day of the Nativity of our Lady, September 8. On the following day they began to construct a chapel that was to serve as a temporary church, a similar house for the Fathers, and another for the guards, all made of poles, roofed with *túles,* and surrounded by a stockade for defense in any emergency. The greater part of the timber for the buildings was cut and dragged to the spot by the savages themselves, who assisted also in the construction of the little houses which, together with a corral for the cattle and horses, were finished

FRANCISCAN MISSIONARIES AS THEY CAME AND WENT (MARK, VI, 8-9)

in a few days. For this reason the Fathers were confident of happy results, and that from the very beginning the Indians would not refuse to embrace the sweet yoke of our Evangelical Law."[1]

In such large numbers, however, would the savages visit the Mission that the Fathers deemed the guard of ten men too small. Fr. Somera, therefore, determined to proceed to San Diego to see the Captain in order to enlist more soldiers. He set out with three soldiers on October 1st, reached San Diego on the 3rd, and, succeeding to secure two more guards, returned with this small addition on the 9th of the said October.[2]

Unfortunately, "just when these natives were most contented," Fr. Palóu writes, "one of the soldiers grievously offended this good disposition by wronging one of the first chiefs of the rancherias and, what is worse, by sinning against God our Lord. The pagan chief wanted to revenge himself for the outrage, which had been committed against him and his wife. He called together, therefore, all the members of the neighboring rancherias and, inviting the men capable of bearing arms, proceeded to lead them toward the two soldiers who, at some distance from the Mission, were guarding the pasturing horses. One of the two was the offender. When they saw such an armed band approaching, they put on their leather jackets to protect themselves against the arrows and took up their arms, as there was no time to notify the guards at the Mission, who knew nothing of the misdeeds of the soldier. No sooner had the Indians come within gunshot then they began to discharge arrows, all aiming at the shameless soldier. The latter leveled his gun at the one who appeared the most daring, presuming that he might be the chief, and discharging the gun killed him. As soon as the rest saw the deadly effect of the firearms, which they had

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[1] Palóu, *Vida*, p. 130.

[2] Palóu, *Noticias*, vol. ii, pp. 297-298.

never before experienced, and that their arrows inflicted no harm, they hastily fled, leaving behind the unhappy chief who, besides having been wronged, now lay dead. The consequences of this skirmish was that the Indians were very much frightened.

"At the sound of the musket shot, the corporal and his men hastened to the rescue but found only the body of the Indian. On hearing what had occurred, the corporal, probably not knowing of the crime of the soldier, commanded the head of the savage to be cut off and placed upon a pole in order to strike terror into the pagans. In the evening, still ignorant of the truth, he sent six soldiers to the rancheria in order that the Indians might see that they were not dreaded and also in order to tell them to remain quiet; that the whites had not come to make war on them when there was no reason; that they had already seen that they had been treated well as long as they had done no wrong. With these and similar arguments which were communicated by signs they came to friendly terms; and after a few days some Indians came to the Mission to ask for the head of the chief, which at the request of the Father had already been taken from the pole; and it was turned over to them. However they did not frequent the Mission for some time; only by degrees did they lose fear and then they revealed to the Father the reasons."[3]

Thus early then the work of the missionaries was seriously endangered; and their efforts for the spiritual and temporal well-being of the natives were frequently frustrated by the very soldiers who had come along to assist the Fathers. It was nothing new, however. Jesuits and Franciscans in Lower California had experienced the same troubles. Accordingly, on February 26, 1778, Fr. Guardian Francisco Pangua and his councillors represented to the king of Spain that "the soldiers abused the pagan Indians and committed excesses which throughout the missions intensely mortified the Fathers,

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[3] Palóu, *Noticias,* vol. ii, pp. 298-299.

who could not remove the scandals to their neophytes which imperiled the whole missionary undertaking."[4]

The misdeed of the worthless soldier had another effect. It delayed the founding of Mission San Buenaventura for twelve years. Fr. Palóu relates the circumstances as follows: "A few days after this happened, Comandante Fages and the Fathers with the goods for Mission San Buenaventura arrived. Fearing lest the pagan Indians might make some attack to avenge the death of their chief, Fages resolved to increase the guards of Mission San Gabriel to the number of sixteen. For this reason, and on account of the little confidence he had in the other soldiers in view of the repeated desertions, he had to postpone the founding of Mission San Buenaventura until he saw the outcome at Mission San Gabriel, where the two Fathers Antonio Paterna and Antonio Cruzado remained with all the church goods,[5] until further orders. The comandante with the rest of the soldiers then left for Monterey, taking with him the one who had killed the pagan chief, in order to remove him from the sight of the other Indians, though the crime which he had committed was concealed from the comandante as well as from the Fathers. Hence there were four missionaries at Mission San Gabriel; but as the two resident missionaries had become ill, and in a short time would have to retire to Lower California, the two destined for San Buenaventura remained in charge. They sought with every possible kindness to attract the pagans, who by degrees forgot the misdeed of the soldier and the death of their chief, and began to offer some of the children for Baptism. Among the first was the son of the unfortunate chief, whom the widow with much satisfaction offered for Baptism. Her example was followed by others who would offer their little ones at

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[4] *Las Misiones de la Alta California,* p. 78. It must be observed here that these soldiers were not Spaniards, but that they generally were taken from the scum of society in Mexico.

[5] Don Joseph de Galvez himself, in 1769, had packed them for Mission San Buenaventura.

the sacred font. The number of the Christians thus increased so that two years after the founding of the Mission, when I was there, already seventy-three had been baptized; and when our venerable Father (Junípero Serra) died (in 1784), they counted 1,019 neophytes."[6]

Although he did not himself found Mission San Gabriel, Fr. Junípero Serra arranged the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths for the Mission. The title page in his own hand is the same in form and wording as at previous missions, except that the name, the date, and the names of the Fathers assigned are those already stated. Nor did Fr. Serra see the Mission till 1772, when he stopped there with Fages from September 11 to 13, on their way from Monterey to San Diego. It caused him extraordinary joy to see already so many Christians who praised God. He caressed them affectionately and gave presents to them and to their gentile parents. It caused him particular pleasure to see the wide valley suitable for founding a city. He congratulated the Fathers and thanked them for the work they had done in spiritual and temporal matters. Without allowing himself any rest, he set out to continue the journey with one of the Fathers of the Mission, who was to receive the goods belonging to it, and reached San Diego September 16.[7]

The insolence of the soldiers and the overbearing attitude of Captain Pedro Fages, the military commander of California, at last compelled Fr. Serra to complain to the Viceroy of Mexico in person. At the request of the viceroy he on May 21, 1773, drew up a memorial or *Representacion* of the situation in California. Among other things he reported regarding Mission San Gabriel as follows:

"The place together with the circumstances of soil, arroyos, timber, fire-wood, and other facilities, is beyond dispute the most excellent of all discovered. Without doubt, this one

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[6] Palóu, *Vida,* pp. 130-133. See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 82, 85.

[7] Palóu, *Vida,* p. 144.

alone, if well cultivated, would be sufficient to maintain itself and all the rest (of the missions). This was the only founding at which I was not personally present, because I was not notified.

"Its beginnings promised great things and speedy progress in spiritual and temporal matters, because these gentiles rejoiced so much at our coming and that our Fathers wanted to establish themselves there, that they labored more than the soldiers in constructing the stockade and temporary buildings, which for that reason were finished in a very short time. Their greatest pleasure was their continual communication with the Fathers, and their Reverences had no less pleasure, since for them they had come from such distance and under such hardships. The Indian women, whom the Fathers showed a most beautiful picture of Mary Most Holy, by a good artist, which they had brought and placed in the church, were so charmed that they knew not how to withdraw from its presence. They went to their homes and returned burdened with seeds and eatables, which they would offer to the holy image and leave at the altar; and though it is easy to infer that they have done this in the vain belief that the Most Holy Virgin would consume the seeds and eatables, nevertheless the sight of their eagerness and demonstrations would cause emotion, and gave every reason to believe that they would be much more devoted to our Blessed Lady when they should know her greatness by the light of Faith.

"All this consolation did not last long, when the official, Captain Fages, began to exercise his dominion over that tender plant, which caused him no more trouble than having ordered the soldiers to appear within eight days at the Mission and to stay there as they have done. He ordered the corporal of said soldiers, a little while after the completion of the stockade, that he should not permit more than five pagans to enter the Mission. If six came, one had to depart; if some were inside, they had to wait until the former left, because not more than five could be inside. Inasmuch as the soldiers with weapon in hand executed said order, though the Indians came unarmed,

the latter began to feel disgusted and disturbed. When the said official came from San Diego where he had issued the said order, the Fathers humbly supplicated him on the matter, reminding him that the Indians came without arms, and that they labored to furnish the material and to construct the buildings. To this he replied favorably and the Fathers were satisfied; but on the point of mounting his horse to return to San Diego, he called the corporal and secretly gave him the wretched order that he should not permit even one pagan to enter the Mission. This the corporal punctually observed. Thus daily the pagans were vexed, and then pretended to enter by force; and, as the soldiers performed their office with more rigor on finding that the pagans manifested more resistance, the Indians commenced to send their couriers in the surrounding country with signs of war. After a few days, in an excursion to gather the cattle or perhaps to protect them or to secure a woman (ó por asegurarse de una mujer), which is more certain from what is said, one soldier with others killed the principal chief of said gentiles and cutting off the head brought it to the Mission in sign of triumph, though a little son of the captain was at the Mission, who had previously been given in charge of the Fathers. On the ground that the Indians there were turbulent, a greater number of soldiers than had been assigned was judged necessary; and thus, by taking those destined for San Buenaventura, which was to be established, this founding was frustrated; and though I again solicited it in this last year, on the arrival of the two ships at San Diego, it has not yet been established. I confess that, if I had been present, neither would Mission San Gabriel have continued; for I would have ordered the Fathers to San Gabriel, because, unless we could communicate with the pagans, whom we are to look up, there would be nothing to do in such places.

"Nor did the misfortune of this poor Mission stop there. The large number of soldiers (which with one or several muleteers reaches twenty men), who are *idle,* for they at once refused to labor; *bored* and discontented, on account of the stories that had happened with the official (Fages) at San

FR. JUNIPERO SERRA, O. F. M., FOUNDER OF THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

Diego, for the pacification of whom the religious labored so much, especially Fr. Antonio Paterna (although Your Excellency is informed very much to the contrary by the governor of Lower California, God forgive him); *quarrelsome,* since it is very frequent that one turns his back on the other; *commanded* by a useless corporal, to whom they show neither respect nor obedience; and extremely *impudent* toward the religious. They have given themselves up to insolence in such a manner that, although the pagans, in consequence of said disturbances every day more and more left the new Mission; yet even flight did not avail them to get rid of the iniquities of the soldiers. The soldiers, six or more, would leave in the morning, either with the permission of the corporal or without it, on horseback, and would go to the rancherias, though many leagues distant. When the men and women on seeing them ran away, the soldiers availed themselves (as the declarations of the Fathers repeatedly and also the complaints of the pagans informed me) of the dexterity they possess in catching with the lasso a cow or a mule; and in this same manner they lassoed Indian women, in order to gratify their unbridled lust; and occasionally, when the Indian men sought to defend the women, the soldiers killed several with musket balls. In view of such disorders, and because with his own eyes he saw a soldier committing lewd acts with a pagan who had come to the Mission, and because not even the boys who would come were safe from the lewdness of the soldiers, the senior of the two Fathers, who began the Mission and who performed labor like an ordinary day-laborer, was so downhearted that he fell sick abed and, at the counsel of the others, retired to San Diego. The second Father remained with the two Fathers assigned for San Buenaventura (the founding of which, as said before, was frustrated), both veteran missionaries of twenty years' service among the Indians of the Sierra Gorda. These incessantly endeavored to remedy so great evils, now by preaching from the altar, now by private admonishments, now by appealing to the corporal whose only reply would be, "If the pagans say that, let them prove it." Meanwhile things

continued as before. On occasions that offered to write to Monterey, the Fathers did not neglect bringing evidence; but with these and other things, which it would take too long to relate, a whole year passed, not only without succeeding in anything but also every day indisposing the minds of the pagans and alienating them more and more from where their real welfare lay.

"Afterwards it pleased God that, on occasion of carrying the mail, some of the most insolent soldiers were sent to Monterey; and, by what appeared coincidental, the Official (Fages) sent the corporal, whom I had at Carmelo, Joseph Maria Góngora, to San Gabriel, so that the one there had to leave. Things took on a different aspect after that. The new corporal by his good manners and his good example induced some of the soldiers to assist in building a new warehouse (because the other collapsed from the rain, with great loss of provisions), and a new church, as also in putting in better condition the rooms of the Fathers, who accordingly began to breathe easier after their great affliction.

"Likewise some pagans already began to approach and, when I passed said Mission on my way to San Diego, they had already seven or eight little Christians, precious creatures, and one of them especially expressed himself beautifully in Castilian. They supplicated me on my return to baptize the others whom they had instructed and reserved for me. When at San Diego I resolved to make the journey to the College, I charged the Father of that Mission, who had accompanied me, that as soon as he reached the Mission, he should baptize the others without delay.

"As if all these improvements grieved the Official, he had already issued an order to the corporal at San Diego to the effect that with the first mail that would present itself for Monterey he should return Corporal Góngora to Monterey and place in his stead as corporal the same who had been there the first whole year, although said order was secret, in order to take the Fathers and Góngora himself unawares, they notified me and assured me of it when I arrived at said Mission

with the same Official. I approached him alone and quietly accused him of wanting to interrupt after so brief a time (for Góngora had not yet been there two months when Fages gave the order) the tranquility, the good feeling, and the progress of the Mission. Although at first he wanted to conceal the truth from me, when I declared to him how and with what certainty I knew of it, he acknowledged to me, saying that he wanted to make the change because Góngora had already begun to be haughty, which is generally his refrain. If said corporal had done nothing in favor of the Mission, or if he had attended to nothing concerning the Fathers, such a defect (as vanity) would perhaps not have been noticed, since of the twenty men of the preceding year not one acted gentlemanly, neither the soldiers nor the corporal. Finally, after much pleading, he promised not to take him away. Whether he did so after my departure, I do not know.

"In the midst of so many tribulations, the Fathers in the first year planted a piece of land with wheat, which went up and promised well; but owing to the lack of experience in that territory, they sowed in too low ground, so that the copious rains, which set in, submerged and destroyed it. What did thrive very well is a garden sufficiently large and fenced in. When I passed there, it abounded in various kinds of vegetables, melons, water melons, etc. I have already said before what can be expected from such fertile land, provided there is someone to work the soil. The same number of mules were assigned to this Mission as to Mission San Antonio."[8]

The Fr. Presidente's visit to Mexico secured the desired independence of the missionaries from the military, and from the interference of the military commander. Viceroy Bucareli and his Council clearly defined both the rights and the duties of the friars entrusted with the conversion and civilization of the savages. It was declared that the missionaries toward

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[8] Fr. Serra, *Representation. Santa Barbara Archives.* For details on Fr. Serra's journey to Mexico and his success, see *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 109-121.

their neophytes stood *in loco parentis,* that is to say, they possessed all the rights and duties of parents regarding their children. They could make regulations for their wards as seemed best to them; and only capital crimes committed by neophytes would subject such neophytes to the action of the military commander or governor. This effectually curbed the desire to interfere with mission affairs or to molest the neophytes.

CHAPTER II

Fr. Francisco Palóu Arrives from Lower California.—His Report to the Viceroy.—Worthless Soldiers.—Fr. Fermín de Lasuén.—Don José de Galvez Supplies Secondhand Church Goods.—Successful Beginnings.—Captain Juan B. Anza Arrives from Sonora.—Route Overland Feasible.—Anza Leads a Large Expedition to Monterey.—The Expedition on the March.—Fr. Pedro Font's Lucid Description.—The True Route Across the Sierras.—Fr. Francisco Garcés.

AT about ten o'clock in the morning of October 2, 1773, Fr. Francisco Palóu, acting Superior of the California Missions, arrived from Lower California in company of Fathers Fermin Francisco de Lasuén, José Antonio Murguía, Thomas de la Peña, Juan Figuer, and Juan Prestamero. "Fathers Antonio Paterna and Antonio Cruzado were in charge," Fr. Palóu writes; "but both had petitioned for the permit to retire to their College and were waiting for the ship to bring up the reply." Fr. Palóu determined to leave here at San Gabriel Fr. Lasuén, so that, when the two Fathers had received their desired license to retire, he might remain with Fr. Figuer in charge of the Mission. If they did not receive their permit, Fathers Lasuén and Figuer should hold themselves ready for the founding of Mission San Buenaventura or for that of Santa Clara. The acting Fr. Presidente also placed here five Christian Indian families,[1] whom he had brought along from Lower California, besides a number of single Indians, who were to help the missionaries teach the converts agriculture and domestic arts.

"We celebrated the day of our holy Patriarch,"[2] Fr. Palóu writes, "with all possible solemnity by a holy Mass and sermon. After resting a few days and preparing for the journey, we three Fathers mentioned and Fr. Prestamero with the Indian

[1] There had been six; but one disappeared, as will be seen later in this chapter.

[2] Feast of St. Francis, Monday, October 4.

families from Lower California and the single Indians destined for San Luis Obispo, in the afternoon of October 11, left San Gabriel."[3]

In his report to the viceroy, dated December 10, 1773, Fr. Palóu adds some details as follows: "Mission San Gabriel is distant about forty-four leagues northwest of San Diego. The road from the latter place runs along the seashore, and the rest of the way is somewhat apart from the beach; but the greatest distance therefrom is eight or ten leagues at Mission San Gabriel, which is on the edge of a rising ground in the valley called San Miguel, about half a league from the source of the river of the same name. It is in 34 degrees and 10 minutes latitude, having in front of it the said plain which is very extensive. It has good soil and an abundance of water that runs through said plain in ditches that form the river. It has facilities for taking out the water in order to irrigate the land which they want to cultivate. The Mission began on Sunday, September 8, 1771.

"In the beginning, the Indians manifested much friendliness for their new neighbors, and they proved it by assisting to bring the timber for the stockade, for the chapel, and for the dwellings of the Fathers and of the soldiers. However, when a crime was committed by one of the soldiers on an Indian woman of the neighboring rancheria, the chief of the Indian village wanted to take vengeance for the outrage. With his whole band, and another which he invited from the surrounding rancherias, he went to the Mission, and, attacking the two soldiers who were guarding the horses, he discharged an arrow at one of them, which rebounded from the soldier's shield without doing harm. The latter discharged his gun at the chief who fell dead, whereupon all the others took to flight. At the noise from the shot, the corporal came running with the rest of the soldiers. When he saw what had happened, he ordered the head of the chief to be cut off and then to be raised on the

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[3] Palóu, *Noticias,* vol. i, pp. 261-263, 266.

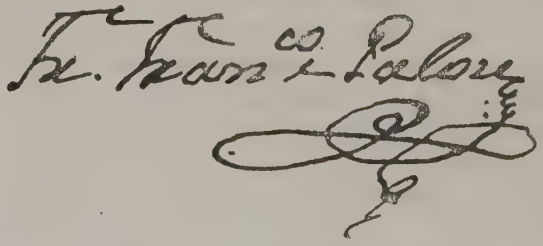
point of a long lance near the stockade, as a warning to all the Indians. This was done, and there it remained until at the request of the Fathers it was removed. The head was turned over to the savages who had come to the Mission to give satisfaction for what had occurred; but at the same time they made known the reason their chief had for taking up arms, as was already explained.

"On that account the Indians withdrew from the rancheria, and for a long time they would not allow themselves to be seen; but by degrees they permitted themselves to be approached and converted. In the beginning of last October, the Fathers had already baptized seventy-three children and adults of whom only two had died. So far, no marriages have been celebrated. Besides those already baptized, there are under instruction others who with the new Christians attend the catechism punctually every day, since they already live at the Mission, the buildings of which, not far from the stockade, are constructed of poles and covered with tules.

"Within the stockade is the church built of poles and roofed with tules; the dwelling of the Fathers with the workshops, etc., and the granary, all constructed of poles and roofed with tules; also the barracks and ten little huts for a band of Indians from Lower California composed of five married families and six single youths. These were at work preparing the field for wheat, for which they have eight *fanégas* of seed wheat. Soon they will go to work preparing the soil of a good field for corn on account of the experience which this year gave them, as eight *almúdes* of corn which they planted produced 150 *fanégas;* and from four *almúdes* (half a peck) of beans they harvested seven *fanégas* of beans. This affords them opportunity to plant more grain to feed new Christians and to attract gentiles who will be much alleviated; for the Indians are very poor, on account of the small crops of wild seeds they receive from the plains and on account of the poor results of the chase. They lack also the aid from the fisheries, since the beach is about eight leagues distant. Though the valleys

are covered with large rancherias, these wage continual war among themselves which makes it impossible to go to the beach to fish and thus to avail themselves of the numerous fishes that, it is said, are at the shore. This shore is the roadstead of San Pedro, where ships can cast anchor with security.

"The rest of the extensive plain is also inhabited by savages in every direction from the Mission. They have good land and an abundance of water, pastures, and timber for every kind of live stock and, if judged expedient, also for establishing other settlements, for to the east, six leagues from the Mission, is the Rio del Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores. Besides the water of the river, which can easily be taken out to irrigate much and good soil that is there, the plain has various ditches of running water. Likewise to the west there is a great forest of live-oak and much good soil and several creeks with water. A league and a half from the Mission toward the said west is the Rio de Señora de los Angeles de Porciuncula, which the whole year round has a sufficient volume of water with which much land can be irrigated.



"There are other springs suitable for irrigating the land; but most of them are near the rancherias of savages, whom it is impossible to convert and add to the many that have come over to live at the Mission. Most of the rancherias, however, are found on the new road between this Mission and that of San Diego.

"This Mission has now 38 head of cattle, 40 sheep, 12 goats, 20 pigs, 6 horses, and 16 mules. It possesses six plows and the other necessary field implements, also the tools requisite for the

carpenter shop; but the forge is lacking, and the men to operate it are wanting."[4]

With Fr. Palóu, as already stated, came from Lower California Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, who remained at San Gabriel as supernumerary. The following extract from a letter which he addressed from San Gabriel to the Superior of the missionary college in Mexico under date of April 23, 1774, proves how little the Franciscans profited from the temporal management of the Missions in Lower California. "I have completed ten years in the Indian missionary service," he writes, "five in the Sierra Gorda, Mexico, and five in the missions of Lower California. I would not decline to continue to serve, but I should prefer to retire to the College, if there were a sufficient number of Fathers in the missions. Fr. Presidente Serra left yesterday for San Carlos, after refusing my petition to retire. Therefore, I leave it to Your Paternity. I beg you to do me the favor of sending a whole outfit of clothing; for, inasmuch as I have not received a single stipend during the five years of my administration of Mission San Francisco de Borja (Lower California), I came from that wretched peninsula altogether without underwear and sandals. I know the reason was that the College found it impossible to send them. Perhaps the deep love of the Indians for me resulted from this want of clothing, if similarity be a motive for love. I indeed resemble them very much in so little clothing."[5]

In his report of February 5, 1775, to Viceroy Bucareli, Fr. Serra says of *Mission San Gabriel de los Temblores:* "The missionaries of this Mission, Fr. Antonio Paterna and Fr. Antonio Cruzado, write to me that from the last day of December, 1773, till the last day of December, 1774, they have constructed no new buildings at the Mission, except a structure of

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[4] *Sta. Barb. Arch.,* ad annum.

[5] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 127-128; also *Mission San Diego.*

poles, six yards long with thatched roof intended for the smithy, and another ten yards long of the same material which is to be used as a granary for corn. The reason is that for greater convenience and utility they want to move the Mission to where the land is cultivated in the same valley, only about half a league distant."

Then under the head *Additions to the Church and Vestry,* Fr. Serra continues: "First there was an increase in the vestments which Your Excellency deigned to send, in view of the fact that those presented for the founding were almost unserviceable. Those received are: five chasubles of the five colors (i.e., one of each color) each one with its corresponding antependium; two copes, red and black, both new and of damask, with the stoles; two bells for the tower, one middle sized, the other small."

Fr. Serra's remark about unserviceable vestments requires explanation. The vestments "presented for the founding" had served their purpose in the Missions of Lower California. When the Spanish government resolved to occupy Upper California, it also determined to establish missions among the savages in that territory. The execution of the plan rested altogether with Inspector General José de Galvez. Colonists and soldiers were provided without stint with new implements, tools, and various utensils. When it came to supplying the missionary establishments with church goods, Galvez resolved to spare the royal treasury any expense for that purpose, and therefore, instead of procuring new goods from Mexico, as reverence for Divine Worship would have dictated, not to speak of the impression made upon the Indians, Galvez directed that the poor Indian Missions of Lower California should contribute what they could spare from their vestries and sanctuaries for the new missions in Upper California! Naturally the missionaries would not deprive their own altars and vestries of their best articles. They had at all events to retain a full set of vestments, etc., for their own sanctuaries. Hence with no kindly views for Galvez's unworthy parsimony and lack

of reverence for the houses of the King of Kings, they packed up and sent by land or sea the church goods not absolutely needed, and which had been regarded as unworthy the lofty purpose for which they had been made and donated. Hence much of this collection of goods was indeed unserviceable for even ordinary mission stations. Some of these goods reached San Gabriel, too, and were put to use when Galvez would have been ashamed to use goods of the same shabby appearance in his own reception rooms. It seems that Fr. Serra informed pious Viceroy Bucareli of conditions prevailing in this respect at the Missions, and succeeded in obtaining donations of new church goods. The interested reader will find the whole niggardly transaction related in our volume on Lower California.

"At the request of the Fathers and charged to the annual allowance came, according to Fr. Serra, 'one canvas picture of the Patron Saint, which is about two varas high; two classical albs with their covering; one classical amice; two purificators; *one cornu-altar;* and six *cámaras de bronce.*'"

Fr. Serra next enumerates some tools, utensils, and implements received, which may well be passed over. He concludes that part of the report with the remark: "In addition to what has been mentioned, the donation has arrived this year which Your Excellency deigned to send, and which consisted of all kinds of provisions and needful articles, beads, and cloth for clothing the Indians, and other goods for maintaining them.

"With regard to live stock, the Mission possesses 65 head of cattle of all sizes, 66 sheep, 34 goats, 18 pigs, 19 horses, and 16 mules.

"During the year the Mission has planted six fanegas of wheat and has harvested 90 fanegas; planted one-twelfth fanega of corn and harvested 240 fanegas; planted a little more than half a fanega of beans and harvested 30 fanegas. For the present year they have sown 5 fanegas of wheat, and they are preparing the land for corn and beans.

"With regard to the families and the persons composing them, I have to say that from the day of the founding, September 8, 1771, till the last day of December, 1774, there have

been baptized 148 Indians of all ages, of whom eight have died. Nineteen Indian marriages have been blessed. Hence the Mission is composed of 19 new Christian Indian families with 154 persons, all of whom live at the Mission in their little huts of poles. Near them are the five families of Lower California Indians. Such is the state of this Mission according to the report of the missionary Fathers of said Mission.—Fr. Junípero Serra."[6]

In October, 1773, due probably to homesickness, one of the Indians who had just come up in company with Fr. Palóu from Mission Santa Gertrudis, Lower California, disappeared with his wife and a young neophyte, also from the peninsula. Instead of taking the road which they had come, Sebastian Tarabal, such was the Indian's name, with his wife and companion, went east. The poor woman and the youth perished in the desert; but Sebastian contrived to reach the Colorado River, whence some Indians accompanied him to the nearest presidio in Sonora. He appeared at a most opportune moment, for Captain Juan Bautista Anza was just about to set out with twenty men in order to demonstrate the feasibility of a direct route from Sonora to Monterey. Only a guide was wanting. The expedition was composed of the commander, the two Franciscans Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés[7] and Fr. Juan Diaz, twenty soldiers, and a number of muleteers, the latter in charge of the pack-train. The start was made on January 8, 1774.[8] Anza and his company crossed the sierra through the San Jacinto Pass[9] and arrived at Mission San Gabriel on Tues-

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[6] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

[7] On the daring journeys of this friar see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, section i, chap. ix, xii.

[8] For particulars of the journey see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 135-137.

[9] Bancroft, Dr. Coues, and others have him come through San Gorgónio Pass by way of Banning and Beaumont, but this has since been discovered to be an error. For correct route see Appendix B, this volume.

day, March 22, 1774. The weary explorers had exhausted their supply of food so that, although they reached the Mission late in the afternoon, no one had as yet tasted a morsel. They were heartily welcomed, although Fathers Paterna and Cruzado could not offer their guests anything but meat, because the supply ship had not yet arrived. A beef was quickly slaughtered and the famished travelers were entertained and made as comfortable as possible. Next day, a holy Mass was offered up, a sermon of cheerful welcome preached, and the *Te Deum* sung. Two days after the coming of the expedition, Fr. Juan Diaz, through the courtesy of the local missionaries, baptized an Indian child, for which Captain Anza proudly stood sponsor. It was number 80 in the list of Baptisms thus far administered at the Mission.

Captain Anza and his company rested until April 10th. With only six of his men, guided by two soldiers from the Mission, the explorers then set out for Monterey accompanied by Fr. Juan Diaz. Fr. Garcés, on the other hand, returned to the Colorado River. The rest of Anza's soldiers remained at the Mission to await the return of their commander. Meanwhile, the transport *Santiago* at last arrived with provisions from San Blas. Four of Anza's men accompanied the pack-train to and from San Diego, and thus was terminated the dearth of food at San Gabriel. Anza returned from Monterey on May 1, and on May 3, with all his troops, he began the march for Sonora. Captain Pedro Fages sent along six of the Monterey garrison to escort them as far as the Colorado River.[10]

When Viceroy Bucareli saw from Captain Anza's report of the expedition that an overland road from Mexico to Monterey was practicable, he resolved to send another expedition over the same route, in order to establish a presidio, a colony of settlers, and two Indian Missions at the Port of San Francisco. In reward for his successful trip of the year 1774, Don Juan

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[10] Missions and Missionaries, vol. ii, pp. 134-137.

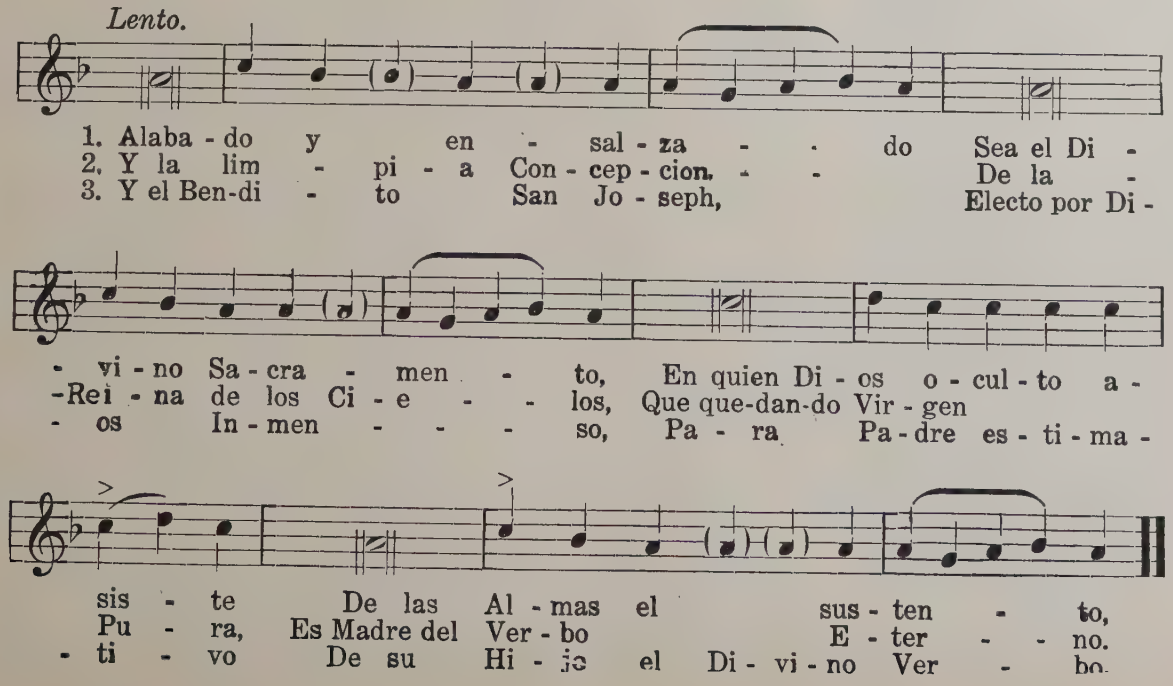
Bautista Anza was named lieutenant-colonel and directed to take command of the new expedition. They set out from San Miguel de Horcasitas, Sonora, on September 29, 1775. The entire expedition consisted of Lieutenant-Colonel Anza; the Franciscan Fathers Pedro Font, Francisco Garcés, and Thomas Eizarch; the Surveyor Mariano Vidal; Lieutenant José Joaquin Moraga; Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva; eight veteran soldiers; twenty recruits; the wives and the children of the sergeant and the twenty-eight soldiers; ten veteran soldiers who were to return with Anza; four families of settlers; twenty muleteers; three cattle herders; four Indian servants of the Fathers named; and three Indian interpreters; in all 240 persons. The train was composed of 530 horses, about 350 head of cattle, and 165 pack-mules.

On the journey, holy Mass was celebrated every morning. On Sundays and holidays of obligation, a sermon would be preached. Just as the expedition set out in the mornings, Fr. Font would intone the *Alabado,* which was then continued by the whole party. At night, the Rosary was recited in each family circle, and the devotions would then close with the singing in common of the *Alabado* or the *Salve Regina.*

The Colorado River was forded on November 30th, with much difficulty, as may be imagined. Next day, Colonel Anza, in the name of the viceroy, bestowed upon Chief Palma of the Yuma Indians a uniform and a baton with a silver point, as a mark of distinction and in recognition of services rendered to the Spaniards. The same honor was conferred on Chief Pablo, whose rancheria lay from three to five leagues to the southwest on the California side, whilst Palma's villages lay opposite the mouth of the Gila River.

Leaving the Colorado on Tuesday, December 5th, Anza led his expedition westward across the desert country, until on Sunday, December 24th, Christmas eve, they reached the Arroyo Seco. Here in the following night the wife of a soldier gave birth to a child. On Christmas morning, Fr. Font celebrated the privileged three holy Masses, preached, and then bap-

Alabado.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- os In - men - - - so, Pa - ra Pa - dre es - ti - ma -
sis - te De las Al - mas el sus - ten - to,
Pu - ra, Es Madre del Ver - bo E - ter - - no.
- ti - vo De su Hi - jo el Di - vi - no Ver - bo.

tized the infant, naming it Salvator Ignacio. Next morning the march was resumed. At two o'clock in the afternoon camp was pitched in front of the gateway to the sierra which in 1774 Anza had named Puerto de San Carlos.

On December 27, 1775, the expedition made its way up the pass for about six leagues, and then camped at the beginning of a cañada which the year before had been named Cañada de San Patricio.[11] Fr. Font found that the latitude was 33 degrees and 37 minutes. After resting on the 28th, they continued the march on the 29th, and after wending their way for seven leagues, the party camped on an arroyo which the preceding expedition had called Arroyo de San Joseph. Here the cañada through which the travelers had come terminated. The cañada that followed was named Valle de San Joseph; a succeeding valley was remembered as Cañada del Paraiso. Next day, the expedition moved five leagues to the Pie de Loma (Mt. Roubidoux, probably); and on Sunday, the last day of the year, they proceeded eight leagues to the Rio Santa Ana. After the holy Mass and the sermon on New Year's Day, the camp was transferred to the other bank of the river. Here a courier from Mission San Gabriel welcomed the colonel and his party in the name of the missionaries. The next stop was made in the afternoon of January 2nd, at the Arroyo de Alisos, after the march had covered six leagues. Six leagues farther on, the following day, the Rio San Gabriel was reached. Finally, on Thursday, January 4, 1776, Fr. Font writes in his diary: "I celebrated holy Mass. We moved away from the Arroyo de San Gabriel at nine in the morning, and at eleven we arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel, after having traveled about two leagues in the direction of west-southwest and somewhat to the west. The Mission of San Gabriel is situated about eight leagues distant from the sea, in a place of most beautiful proportions, with enough water and very good soil. The site is level and unobstructed, about two leagues from the Sierra

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[11] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, Appendix E.

Nevada which bounds it on the north, and which in coming from the Puerto de San Carlos,[12] we left to the right. It seems that here snowfall ceases, but not on the sierra which is the same Sierra Madre of California and which continues far into the interior. To all appearances it is the same continuous sierra that Fr. Garcés passed on this journey,[13] and named[14] Sierra de San Marcos.[15]

"In this Mission (of San Gabriel) we found the commander of Monterey, Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, who, on account of the insurrection of the Indians of Mission San Diego, which they destroyed and whose missionary, Fr. Luis Jaume they killed,[16] had come from Monterey to pass on to that presidio (of San Diego). He arrived at this Mission on the night of January 2. A little before we reached the Mission, there came out on the road to receive us Comandante Rivera and the missionary in charge of the Mission, Fr. Antonio Paterna. Thus our arrival was a matter of much rejoicing to all, the guards of the Mission receiving us with a salute. The two other Fathers who were there, Fr. Antonio Cruzado and Fr. Miguel Sanchez, also received us with especial demonstrations of satisfaction while the bells pealed joyously.

"On January 5, 1776," Fr. Font continues in his diary, "we rested. The commanders talked over the affair of the revolt of the Indians of San Diego. After we had taken our meals,

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12 Entrance to the pass across the mountains.

13 He had not come, but had separated from the expedition in order to explore the river district south of the Gila. Then retracing his steps, he had gone north as far as the Needles, and thence had proceeded westward and reached San Gabriel on March 24th. On April 9th he went north through the Sierras, the first white man to traverse this country, and penetrated as far as the region of Bakersfield or the White River, where on March 5th he began the return trip along what is now the Santa Fe railroad.

14 On St. Mark's Day.

15 The Tehachapi Range, as Dr. Coues thinks.

16 See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 169-170.

I went with Fr. Sanchez to see the spring of water from which they run the acéquia (ditch) to this Mission of San Gabriel, by means of which it is provided with the best conveniences; for, besides being an ample water course, it passes in front of the dwelling of the Fathers and of the little huts of the Christian Indians who compose the new Mission. Of these there may be, big and little, 500[17] souls of recent converts. The acéquia also dominates all the fields near the Mission site, and renders them apt for planting grain. Hence it is that the land near the village is cultivated. Accordingly, it is a Mission that has such good facilities for agriculture and such good pastures for cattle and horses, that no better can be desired. The cows it possesses are very fat and give much rich milk, of which they make much cheese and very good butter. There is a litter of pigs and a small flock of sheep. Of the latter, on our arrival, they slaughtered three or four, the flesh of which was especially good. I do not remember having eaten mutton more fat and tender. They also have some chickens.

"The Mission has plenty of oak and other timber for building, and consequently much firewood. Only lime is wanting. Hitherto it has not been discovered for improving the buildings, some of which are of adobe; but the most are of palisades and tules for which reason they are very perilous and exposed to fires. At present, the whole structure consists of one very large building of palisades, all under one roof but having three divisions. It serves as a habitation for the Fathers, for granary, and for everything else. Somewhat apart from this is another structure of palisades, which serves as a church. Near it is another, which is the guardhouse, as they call it, or the quarter for the soldiers, who constitute the guard, of whom there are eight. Then, close by are some little huts of tules. These are the habitations of the Indians. Between them and the dwelling of the Fathers, runs the water ditch or acéquia.

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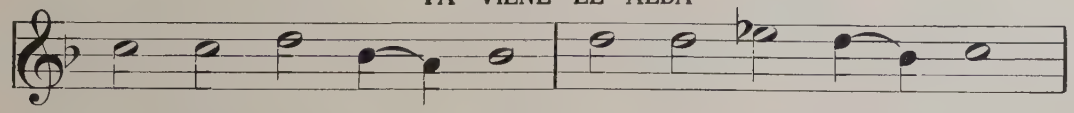
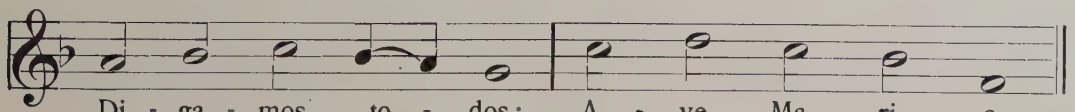
[17] "Quinientas," says Fr. Font. Lummis's translation has 50. The exact number on December 31, 1775, six days before the arrival of the expedition, was 198 baptized Indians.

YA VIENE EL ALBA



1. Ya vie - ne el al - - ba rom - pien do el di - - a,
2. Na - cio Ma - ri - a pa - ra con - sue - lo
3. Na - cio Ma - ri - a con e - fi - ca - - cia,
4. La sier - pe fie - ra llo - ra sus pe - nas,
5. El in - fi - er - no tres ve - ces tiem - bla,
6. To - dos can - te - mos en al - ta la voz,



Di - ga - mos to - dos: A - ve Ma - ri - a.
De pe - ca - do - res y luz del cie - lo.
A - ve Ma - ri - a, lle - na de gra - cia.
Mari - a le po - ne fuer - tes ca - de - nas.
Al de - cir pron - to, A - ve Ma - ri - a.
A - ve Ma - ri - a, Ma - dre de Di - os.

"At the spring grow celery and other greens that seem to be lettuces and some roots like parsnips. There are thereabouts many turnips, which from a little seed that had been sown have grown all over the soil. Near the old site of the Mission, which is distant from this new one about a league southward, grows a great abundance of water cresses, of which I ate a good deal. In fine, as Fr. Paterna says, it is like the Land of Promise. Nevertheless, the Fathers have suffered in it much want and many hardships, for the beginnings are always difficult, the more so in that country where there was nothing. Once they suffered the affliction of lack of supplies for two years."

CHAPTER III

Reticence of the Missionaries.—Speak When Attacked.—Fr. Pedro Font's Picture of the Indians.—Life at the Missions.—The Mission System.—The Daily Routine.—Dearth of Food.—Deserters.—Discontented Colonists.—Anza and Company Return to Sonora.—Fr. Serra Administers Confirmation.—Governor Neve's Unfriendly Interference.—Indian Alcaldes.—Disastrous Results.—More Soldiers and Colonists.—Yumas Destroy Two Settlements on the Colorado.

THE Franciscan missionaries all over California unselfishly spent themselves and were spent in promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of their Indian wards. They regulated their work according to the well-tried regulations laid down by the missionary College or Seminary of San Fernando, in Mexico; and in keeping with the royal demands they annually reported on the spiritual and temporal results of their endeavors. Beyond that these zealous apostles would write or report nothing. They reasoned that, if their names and those of their dusky charges were entered in the Book of Life, it mattered not what the world at large or posterity thought about them. This was laudable enough from the religious point of view, but unwise and unfortunate from an historical standpoint, because it deprived us of very much that would now prove edifying, instructive, and entertaining. Happily the Fathers were sometimes attacked by individuals of ill-will. Then in sheer self-defense these hard-worked friars were driven to reveal much that is of deep interest, and unwittingly displayed their mettle to the invariable discomfiture of their antagonists. Sometimes a traveler would appear at a mission and through him we obtain additional knowledge of its inner workings. Fr. Pedro Font, who accompanied Colonel Anza's expedition as chaplain and chronicler, was one of those who had a critical eye and who was neither averse to relating what he saw nor afraid of expressing his opinions on the situation. In the preceding chapter he informed us of the route taken by the colonel and his troops

and settlers, of their arrival at San Gabriel, and of the consequent festivities. We shall now let him relate what he discovered there.

In his bulky diary, under date of January 5, 1776, he writes: "The Indian converts of this Mission, who are of the Beñeme nation and also of the Jeniguechi tribe, appear to be peaceful and of somewhat good heart. They are of medium stature, but the women are somewhat smaller,[1] round-faced, flat-nosed, and somewhat ugly.[2] The men in their pagan state are accustomed to go entirely naked, but the women wear some sort of deer skin with which they cover themselves and also a kind of small cloak of otter or rabbit skins. However, the Fathers have the convert Indians dress as well as they can.

"The method which the Fathers observe in the Mission is this: They do not oblige any one to become a Christian, since they admit only those who voluntarily offer themselves. This they effect in the following manner. As those Indians are accustomed to live in the plains and hills like beasts, they are informed in advance that, if they wish to be Christians, they can no longer go to the mountains, but have to live at the Mission; that, if then they leave the rancheria (thus they call the huts and dwelling-place of the convert Indians), they will be followed and sought and then will be punished. Thereupon, the Fathers begin to give religious instruction to the pagans who come voluntarily. They are taught to bless themselves and whatever else is necessary. If they (the Indians) persevere in the catechetical instruction for two or three months with the same determination, and if they are sufficiently instructed, the Fathers proceed to baptize them.

"The daily routine is this: In the morning at sunrise, holy Mass is regularly celebrated, at which, or even if it is not

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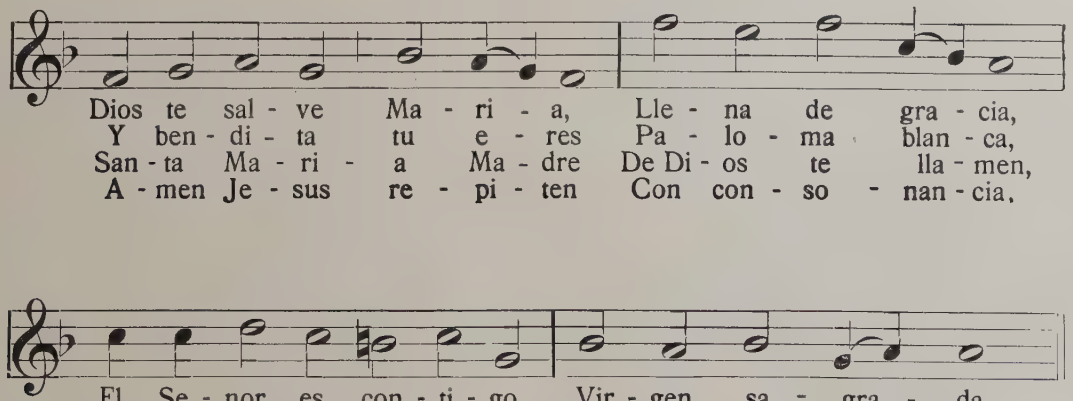
[1] Mas Pequeñas.

[2] Pequeñas, cariredondos, chatos, y algo feos. Except *pequeñas*, which qualifies women, the other adjectives have the masculine form; hence they do not refer to women only but to all the Indians.

DIOS TE SALVE MARIA


Dios te sal - ve Ma - ri - a, Lle - na de gra - cia,
Y ben - di - ta tu e - res Pa - lo - ma blan - ca,
San - ta Ma - ri - a Ma - dre De Di - os te lla - men,
A - men Je - sus re - pi - ten Con con - so - nan - cia.
El Se - nor es con - ti - go, Vir - gen sa - gra - da.
En - tre to - das a - que - llas, Mu - je - res san - tas.
San - tos Ange-les y hom - bres, Te ha - gan la sal - ve.
San - tos Ange-les y hom - bres, Te ha - gan la sal - ve.

CHILDREN'S GREETING TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

said, all the Indians assemble, and, the Father with them, all recite the Doctrina Christiana, which is concluded with the singing of the *Alabado*. This is sung at all the Missions in the same way and in one and the same melody. The Fathers too sing it, although they may not have a good voice, since uniformity is best. Then they go to breakfast on *atole*[3] which is prepared for all. Before they eat, they make the sign of the Cross and sing the *Bendito*. Afterward they go to work, each one according to his ability, the Fathers inducing and leading them to work by their example. At noon they eat their *pozole*[4] which is made for all in common. Thereafter they work again for a while. At sunset all return to recite the Doctrina and conclude it by singing the *Alabado*.

"The Christians distinguish themselves from the pagans in that they endeavor to go about somewhat clothed or covered as well as the indigence of this country permits. No account is kept of the food which the catechumens consume. Even what is left over is distributed.

"If an Indian wishes to go to the mountains to see his relatives or to gather acorns, he is given permission for a certain number of days, and generally they do not fail to return. At times they come with a pagan relative who stays for the catechetical instruction, either drawn by the example of the others or attracted by the *pozole*, which suits them better than the herbs and the food they gather in the hills. So these Indians are wont to be collected through the stomach.

"The Christian doctrine which is recited in all the missions is the one reduced by Father Catani, with entire uniformity, so that no Father may vary a single word or add to it anything else. This is recited also in Castilian, even though the Fathers may understand the (native) language, as in the case in the Mission of San Antonio, whose missionary, Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar, understands and speaks the language of the Indians of that Mission. The Doctrina is recited there in

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[3] Mush made of corn meal.

[4] A thick soup of grain, vegetables, besides flesh meat.

Castilian. Although the Father translated the Doctrina into the Indian language, the most that is done there is to recite it daily once in that and once in Castilian. The Fathers there thus conform themselves to what was many times commanded since the first Mexican Council, and treated so well by Solórzano: namely that the Indian should be taught the Doctrina in Castilian, and that efforts should be made to have them speak Castilian, inasmuch as all Indian languages are barbarous and very much lacking in the terms.

"In the missions, arrangements are made that the grown-up girls sleep in some separate apartment. In the Mission of San Luis Obispo I saw that a married soldier served as mayordomo of the Mission, which afforded the Father some relief. The soldier's wife took care of the young girls. They were under her charge and they called her mistress. During the day she kept them with her and taught them sewing and other things. At night she locked them up in an apartment where she kept them secure from every insult. For that reason the girls were called nuns (monjas). This arrangement appeared to me a good thing.

"In fine, the method observed in those new missions seemed to me very good. I remark that the same that is done in one is done in the rest, and this is what suited me best. Mission San Diego is the exception. Inasmuch as it is the poorest, the soil owing to its little fertility not permitting fields in common nor private ones, food (pozole) is not prepared nor distributed in common, and the Indians are allowed to live in their rancherias with the obligation, however, of coming to holy Mass on Sundays by turns, as is done in Lower California.[5] This is the reason why that Mission is so backward and why its Indians are the worst of these new missions.

"On the feast of Epiphany, Saturday, January 6th," Fr. Font wrote, "I celebrated holy Mass. Afterward a High

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5 That is to say, every two weeks whole rancherias would take their turn to come and stay for fifteen days for instruction and work, and during this time they would be fed.

Mass was sung in thanksgiving for our arrival, which I accompanied with my instrument.[6] At the altar Fr. Paterna sang the High Mass. After the Gospel he also preached a sermon on the mystery of the day, very well and much to the point. Commander Anza offered to accompany Commander Rivera to the port of San Diego with twenty soldiers of the expedition, in order to cooperate in chastising the Indian rebels, if it were necessary for the pacification of the country. It was determined to set out for San Diego on the following day; and I also went thither, leaving the settlers and the rest of the expedition at San Gabriel until we should return.[7]

"January 7th, Sunday—I celebrated holy Mass," Fr. Font continues in his diary, "during which I addressed an exhortation to the people that were to stay at the Mission, bidding them farewell and charging them to conduct themselves properly, so as not to give bad example to the new Christians, and encouraging them to work, etc."

In the afternoon of Monday, February 12th, Colonel Anza, Fr. Font, and the soldiers returned from San Diego, having traveled that day about ten leagues. On this same day, Fr. Font entered the following interesting items into his journal: "We ascended and descended twenty-three hills, which together with the rest (on the road from San Diego) make 125. At this Mission (of San Gabriel), we heard the news that in the past night one soldier from Monterey, who belonged to the Mission guard, and four (two servants and two muleteers) of the expedition deserted with thirty animals, some belonging to the Mission and some to private individuals. They also stole some other things from the harness shop. The lieutenant went in pursuit with nine soldiers of the expedi-

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[6] Fr. Font does not specify the instrument. He must have been a passionate musician to carry along a musical instruument on such a long trip.

[7] This was a great misfortune, for the Indians of the Mission, because the immigrants seem to have been of the lowest Mexican class. More later on of the consequences of their presence at the Mission.

tion. This was felt very keenly by Señor Anza and by myself, because we had returned with the intention of prosecuting at once the journey to Monterey. This news detained us. We felt it the more because we saw that the Mission had not enough supplies to maintain the people any longer. Fr. Paterna would give no more rations nor anything else.[8] The situation was aggravated by the fact that we found the soldiers of the expedition very much disgusted. They were saying that Señor Anza had deceived them, and they refused to proceed farther, because, they declared, although they had been promised to be paid $365 and the rations, they now were without rations, were dying of hunger, were without cows, etc., the wages had been paid with poor goods and 150 per cent had been deducted, etc.

"On account of what had happened," Fr. Font writes on February 13th, "the colonel decided to wait some days for the return of the lieutenant. In the afternoon, I went with Fr. Paterna and Señor Anza to see the new field of very good wheat, and I was much pleased to see how the recently converted Indians applied themselves to plowing and to other work. With them the labors of the Fathers appear to succeed, especially as the Fathers teach them by their own example how to work. Fr. Paterna himself governed the plow with his hand."

On Wednesday, February 14th, Fr. Font relates that "the day was dark till afternoon, when it cleared up. Then Fr. Paterna assembled his neophytes at the Mission, since he wanted me to play for them on the musical instrument. This kept them very much contented." Next day Fr. Font took the latitude and found that the Mission lay in 34 degrees and 5½ minutes.

Under date of Sunday, February 18th, the diary reads: "I celebrated holy Mass, during which I preached briefly to the members of the expedition, exhorting them to be patient

[8] He was probably incensed at the conduct of the immigrants, and withal the Mission was itself in straits to maintain its neophytes.

PRIMITIVE PLOUGH AND MANNER OF OPERATING IT

and resigned. . . . Don Juan's (Anzas's) indisposition, which he contracted since he returned here, grew worse. This came from the nausea caused him by the food that was dispensed at the Mission, the cooks of which are a few youths, so dirty, that they prepare the things not only without cleanliness but so filthily as their vile selves, and not at all neatly. To this must be added that we ate without table-cloth, an old door serving as table, so greasy and dirty that with a knife one could scrape up the dirty grease covering it.[9] However, I think that Señor Anza's vomiting proceeded, in addition to the loathesome food, from the chagrin which befell him on account of the desertions and at sight of the people of the expedition who were discontented because 150 per cent had been deducted from their wages, a matter which Señor Anza had not known when they set out from Mexico, . . . and because the people were asking him for food, since they were afflicted with hunger and since they had sold to the Mission what they had, in order to relieve themselves. He had naught from which to take provisions and to supply the people; for with the pack-train everything had already been brought from the San Diego warehouse that could be obtained. For all these reasons Don Juan in those days was very much disheartened and downcast, notwithstanding that I endeavored to raise his spirit by trying to induce him to join in conversation and also by sometimes diverting him by playing on the instrument.

"On February 20th, I celebrated holy Mass. As the lieutenant had not yet appeared, it was resolved not to wait longer, but to resume the march on the following day.

"February 21st, Ash Wednesday.—I blessed the ashes, celebrated holy Mass, and made a brief address to the people

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[9]Clearly, as Dr. Coues remarks on a similar occasion, Fr. Font was not intended for an Indian missionary. What tortures must the men of refinement and education have suffered from the male cooks in the Missions, until they managed to have them understand that cleanliness is conducive to health.

who were to remain, and to the others who were to go with the expedition. We wept somewhat because of the separation.[10] We started out from Mission San Gabriel at half past eleven in the forenoon; and at four and a half we pitched camp, having traveled six leagues, two leagues in a westerly direction, and the remainder west-northwestward. After two leagues, we passed the Rio Porciuncula, which had sufficient water."

On Monday, April 29, 1776, at eight o'clock in the morning, Colonel Anza with Fr. Font and the guards arrived at Mission San Gabriel on his return march from San Francisco Bay to Sonora. What happened here between him and Captain Rivera will be found in our second volume of *Missions and Missonaries.*

On May 2nd, at four in the afternoon, Anza with Fr. Font and escort left the Mission for the east. The company consisted, Fr. Font tells us, of thirty persons: namely, Colonel Anza, Fr. Font, Mariano Vidal, Carlos Gallegos and wife, ten soldiers of the presidio of Tubac, eleven muleteers and servants, three cowboys, and Pedro de San Luis, a youth. The horses and mules numbered eighty-six head. As these explorers do not concern us any more, we take leave of them here and proceed with the narrative.

Nothing noteworthy seems to have occurred at San Gabriel for more than two years, save that Fr. Presidente Serra stopped at the Mission on his way from the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano. We find him baptizing one Indian child on December 11, 1776. He entered the Baptism under No. 303, which shows how many the Mission had baptized during the five years of its existence. Meanwhile Fr. Serra had received the authority to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation, which is ordinarily administered only by bishops. The Fr. Presidente confirmed at Mission San Gabriel for the first time on November 4, 1778, assisted by Fathers Vicente

[10] Anza left ten soldiers and two colonists with their families at Mission San Gabriel.

Fuster and Gregorio Amúrrio of Mission San Juan Capistrano, who had accompanied their Superior thus far. The resident missionaries, Fathers Antonio Cruzado and Miguel Sanchez, prepared and marshaled the candidates. On the first day, November 4th, 103 were confirmed; on November 6th, 23; on November 8th, 85; on November 9th, 122; on November 12th, 27; and on November 20, only 2; therefore in all, 362. For the men and boys one man, for the women and girls one woman stood sponsor. Accordingly, all the Indians, save two who had moved to San Diego, had received Confirmation.

Writing next day, November 21st, to Fr. Lasuén at San Diego, Fr. Serra informed him that he was leaving that day for Mission San Luis Obispo, the only mission then existing between San Gabriel and San Carlos. He added that he would be accompanied by six deserters from the presidio of Monterey. These were the soldiers Francisco Manuel Ruiz, Francisco Villa-Gomez, Antonio Alegre, and Joaquin Beltran Caravanas, besides the servants Joseph Guerrero and Mariano Tepes, both from San Francisco.[11]

Early in 1779, Governor Felipe de Neve, who had already manifested his hostility to the missionaries elsewhere in California, demanded that the convert Indians at every mission should annually elect two alcaldes or magistrates and two regidores or councilmen. These Indian officials were to enjoy certain privileges, have a certain measure of control, and be free from corporal punishment. When it is remembered that, for instance, at San Gabriel the Indians had emerged from the most degraded barbarism but a few years before and that they had never been used to any self-government whatever, one cannot but stand amazed at the proposition. The neophytes were as yet no more capable of governing themselves than a band of overgrown and unruly schoolboys. The whole question was discussed and the folly and unfriendliness of Neve's scheme demonstrated in the second volume of our

[11] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Missions and Missionaries; hence it may here be passed over for the sake of brevity.

The elections were held and the four officials from among the neophytes installed at the beginning of every year. Feeling themselves independent of the missionaries, the alcaldes very soon, even during Fr. Serra's lifetime, and at his own Mission of San Carlos, abused the privileges accorded them. From Mission San Gabriel the Fathers wrote, as Fr. Serra reported to Governor Neve on January 7, 1780, " that its alcalde Nicolas provided women for as many soldiers as wanted them. The Fathers, indeed, turned him over to the corporal of the guard who chastised him; but they were afterward notified that this action was disapproved by Your Honor; that the corporal could not inflict such punishment; and that only in case of revolt or murder could he arrest the (Indian) alcalde, which he would then have to report to the governor. If this is to be practiced in the case of an Indian who lives in scandalous concubinage, or who is a thief, or who tyrannizes the people, or who answers the Fathers as well as the soldiers insolently, then neither the missionaries nor the corporal can punish him."[12]

When from Fr. Serra's presentation of the matter the unfriendly Neve learned the disastrous effects of his scheme, he chose to remain silent. However, the missionaries by direction of the Fr. Presidente everywhere had the election held under their supervision, on or about New Year's Day; but the officials were such only in name, except that they received no corporal punishment.

The tranquility of the Mission was seriously interrupted by the appearance of soldiers and colonists from Sonora. On July 14, 1781, a troop of thirty married soldiers with their families and five unmarried soldiers arrived at the gates of the Mission. They were commanded by Lieutenant Diego Gonzales, accompanied by Ensign José Dario Argüello and escorted by nine regular soldiers from Sonora under Ensign

[12] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 343.

Caietano Limon. The married and the five unmarried men had been enlisted in Sonora and Sinaloa by Captain Fernando Rivera, and they were intended for the presidio of Santa Barbara, yet to be established. Rivera had stayed behind, on the Colorado River, with a small guard and the live stock. From San Gabriel, Limon and his nine men, accompanied by six soldiers from Monterey under Juan José Robles, hastened back to the Colorado, in order to escort Rivera and the remainder of the expedition to Mission San Gabriel.

Meanwhile, on August 18, 1781, a motley crowd of would-be settlers arrived from Sonora by way of Lower California. At Neve's request, Captain Rivera had been instructed by Comandante-General De Croix to recruit a certain number of soldiers and twenty-four settlers. The latter were to be married men and were to bring their families along. They were to be in good health, of good character, and of regular habits. All were to bind themselves for a term of ten years. Each settler was to receive annually for two years $116 and annually for three subsequent years $60, which amounts were to be paid in clothing, etc., at cost prices. Each settler in addition was promised two horses, two mares, two cows and a calf, two sheep, two goats, one mule, one yoke of oxen, a plow, a spade, a hoe, an axe, a sickle, a musket, and a leather shield. For the community were to be provided breeding animals, a forge, an anvil, crowbars, spades, carpenters' tools, etc.; but the advance of supplies, live stock, implements, seeds, etc., would have to be repaid gradually from the surplus products of the land.

The soldiers, on the other hand, who were enlisted from the presidio of Sonora, inasmuch as they had permanent wages, would have to repay the sums advanced by submitting to discounts.

Notwithstanding these liberal propositions—"vastly more liberal, in fact, than any proposition that was ever offered to colonists on the Atlantic coast"[13]—and despite the efforts to

[13] Willard, *History of Los Angeles*, p. 69.

secure the best material and the required number of settlers, Rivera failed. After consuming nearly a year in the search, he was compelled to accept a very inferior class of people. Even then, instead of twenty-four families, only twelve were secured, and of these one ran away. They were sent ahead and they reached their destination, unfortunate Mission San Gabriel, in August, as was said. From Bancroft we learn that "they were obliged to encamp in quarantine for a time, at a distance of a league from the Mission, some of the children having recently recovered from the smallpox."[14]

Meanwhile great excitement prevailed there in consequence of a tragedy that had occurred on the Colorado. Toward the end of August, Ensign Limon reappeared at the Mission, wounded and with only seven of his men. The story he had to tell was a sad one. In spite of the remonstrances of the zealous Fr. Garcés, so popular among the savages on the Colorado, Comandante-General De Croix had established two white settlements, one at the mouth of the Gila and the other three leagues farther down on the Colorado. Owing to the insolence of the colonists and soldiers, the Yuma Indians and others had risen in rebellion and had massacred all but the women and children. Four Franciscans, including the beloved Fr. Garcés, had also fallen victims to the savage frenzy. Rivera and his small guard had been attacked on the other side of the river and had died fighting bravely. Limon reported that his party had been waylaid by the Yumas on August 21st, and that in the skirmish which followed he had lost two men, while he and his son had been wounded. Neve inaugurated a half-hearted campaign which resulted only in making the Yumas more arrogant. The women and children were much later rescued by a party of soldiers from Sonora. The reader will find the story of the founding and ruin of these two mission pueblos, which had been established according to Neve's foolish plans, in our larger work.[15]

[14] Bancroft, *California,* vol. i, p. 343.

[15] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, section i, chap. xxi; *Franciscans in Arizona, section* i, chap xi-xv. See also Appendix C, this volume.

CHAPTER IV

El Pueblo de la Reina de Los Angeles.—Colonists Collected.—The Locality.—The Founding According to Fiction and Facts.—The First Settlers of Los Angeles.—Description.—The First Officials.—Fr. Junípero Serra Confirms at San Gabriel.—Departs with Governor Neve and Expedition to Found the Channel Missions.—Fr. Serra's Last Visit.—Indian Acolyte's Sympathy for Him.—Bids Farewell.—Success of the Missionaries in Spiritual and Temporal Matters.—Contribution to War Fund.—Governor Fages's Report.—A Master Weaver Secured.—Prosperity.—Indian Woman Starts Conspiracy.

GOVERNOR FELIPE de Neve had called for colonists from Mexico in order to found a regular city or pueblo on the Porciuncula or Los Angeles River. He must have come to the Mission immediately on being notified of the arrival of the immigrants, since he "issued his instructions for founding the pueblo of La Reina de Los Angeles from San Gabriel on the 26th of August (1781)."[1] Accordingly, after selecting a spot for a dam and ditch, with the view of irrigating the largest possible area of land, a site for the pueblo was to be selected on high ground, in sight of the sowing-lands, but at least 200 varas distant, near the river or the main ditch, with sufficient exposure to the north and south winds. Here a plaza of 200 x 300 feet was to be laid out with its corners facing the cardinal points, and with three streets running perpendicularly from each of its four sides; thus no street would be swept by the winds, always supposing that the winds would confine their action to the cardinal points. The house-lots were to be each 20 x 40 varas, and their number was to equal that of the available *suertes* of irrigable ground, that is, more than double that of the present inhabitants. The eastern side of the plaza was to be reserved for public buildings. After the survey and the reservation

[1] Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 344.

of the realengas as prescribed, the settlers were to draw lots for the *suertes*,[2] beginning with those nearest the pueblo.[3]

Having thus made the regulations, the necessary preparations were begun for the founding. Neve, according to Bancroft, fixed September 4, 1781, as the date of the great event. The historian claims "that the pueblo was founded on September 4th with twelve settlers and their families, forty-six persons in all, whose names are given and whose blood was a strange mixture of Indian and negro with here and there a trace of Spanish."[4] Romantic dreamers, however, went to work and then the following description of the founding of Los Angeles resulted. Willard, followed by other writers, soberly relates:

"On the 4th day of September, 1781, therefore, the expedition set out from San Gabriel, the governor leading the way in person, followed by a detachment of soldiers bearing aloft the banner of Spain. Then came settlers, forty-four persons in all, eleven being men, eleven women, and twenty-two children of all ages. The plaza had already been laid out, and the boundaries fixed for the building lots that faced it. As they neared the selected spot, a procession was formed, made up of the soldiers, with the governor at their head, the priests from San Gabriel, accompanied by their Indian acolytes, then the male settlers, and, lastly, the women and the children, the former bearing a large banner of the Virgin Mary painted upon it. The procession marched slowly and impressively around the plaza, followed, no doubt, by the wondering gaze of the Indians from Yang-na, who had assembled for the event. When the circuit was completed the priests asked a blessing on the new city that was about to come into existence. Then Governor Felipe de Neve delivered a formal speech to the settlers, of which no report has come down to us, but which may safely be assumed was full of excellent

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[2] *Suertes.* Lots for cultivation outside the settlement.

[3] Bancroft, i, 345.

[4] Bancroft, i, 345.

advice to the citizens, and of glowing prophecy for the pueblo's future. Prayers and a benediction from the padres concluded the ceremony, which was probably the most extensive and the most impressive that was ever held over the founding of an American city."[5]

It is a pity, and rather cruel, to spoil this description of the founding of Los Angeles; but our duty is to supply accurate information and to correct misstatements or errors. Neve was always great in making regulations for others, and in dwelling on the results of his plans; but of this event no minute report from his hand has yet been discovered. It would seem that for reasons to be adduced presently he took little pride in the affair. The only contemporary notice of the founding of Los Angeles is contained in Fr. Palou's Life of Fr. Serra. It runs thus:

"The governor made arrangements for the founding of a pueblo of Spaniards on the Rio de Porciuncula, so called by the first expedition of the year 1769. He collected together all the settlers who had come as colonists, assigned the site and the lands on the banks of the river, distant from the Mission of San Gabriel four leagues to the northwest; and there, *escorted by a corporal and three soldiers, they founded their pueblo* in the last days of December, 1781, under the title of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula.[6] Here they maintain themselves by means of their crops, etc., as was said of the pueblo of San José, although with the drawback of having to walk four leagues to hear holy Mass (i.e. at Mission San Gabriel)."

This is all that is on record about the actual founding of the city. From the passage quoted it is clear that Neve

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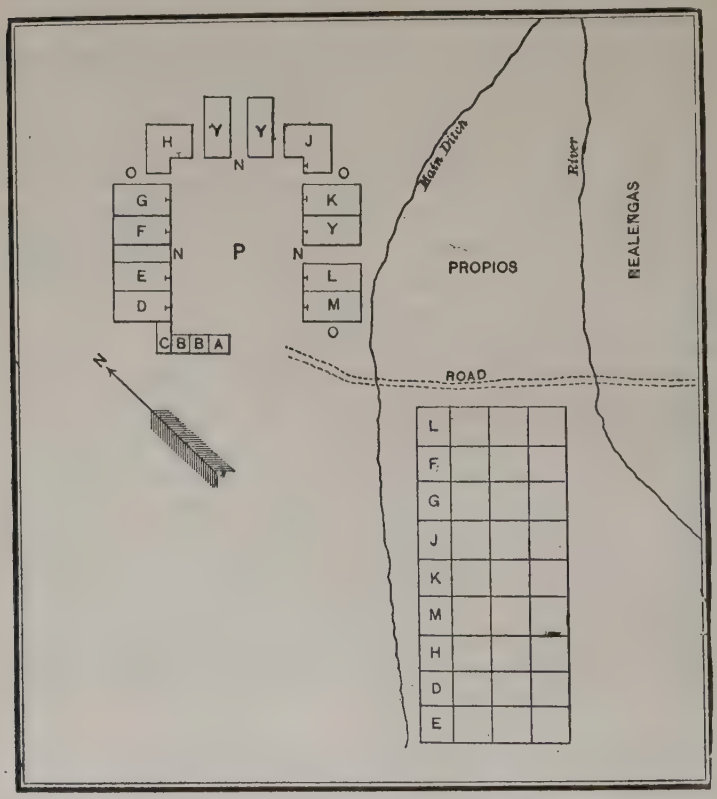
[5] Willard, *History of Los Angeles,* pp. 74-75.

[6] Junto todos los vecinos pobladores que habian venido para colonos les senalo sitio y tierras en las orillas del rio, distante de la Mision de San Gabriel quatro leguas rumbo al noroeste, y alli escoltados de un cabo y tres soldados fundaron su pueblo a ultimos del año de 1781 con el titulo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciuncula."—Palóu, *Vida,* p. 245. See Appendix C.

did not lead nor accompany the sorry crowd of settlers; for Fr. Palóu expressly says that they were *escorted by a corporal and three soldiers,* and that they themselves did the founding of the pueblo, not on September 4, but at the end of December.



ORIGINAL PLAN OF THE PUEBLO OF LOS ANGELES

P—Plaza. A B C—Public Buildings. The lots around the Plaza are the homes of the first settlers. The lots between the river and the ditch are the lands intended for cultivation by the settlers.

Neve assembled the colonists[7] and assigned the lots and lands, most probably by means of a chart or drawing which

[7] Hittéll says, September 1st, Neve conducted them to the site designated, but gives no authority.

he had prepared after a personal visit to the proposed site. The corporal was doubtless instructed to attend to the execution of orders and to the assigning of each one's lot. *"Escorted by a corporal and three soldiers the settlers started out from San Gabriel and established their colony on the spot designated."* That is the simple fact. For the haughty Neve the affair was nothing to be proud of, especially since he had for years annoyed and hampered the missionaries for wanting to lead the savages to learn mechanical arts, agriculture and stock raising. He was even then, notwithstanding that his foolish scheme had caused disaster on the Colorado but shortly before, planning to ruin the mission system, which later proved the salvation of California when nothing could be brought from Mexico to support soldiers and officers. He wanted colonists, Spaniards at that, instead of civilized Indians to occupy and till the land. No mission should be any more erected. At Los Angeles, as well as at San José, he had his own sweet will, but the results were not flattering to the haughty hidalgo. As we understand it from a deep study of all the facts, Neve was ashamed to figure in a scene with the colonists such as they were. He could well imagine that the missionaries secretly chuckled on seeing his grand plan resulting like the Latin poet's mountains of which he sang, "The mountains were in labor and produced—a ridiculous mouse."

Lest we appear to be overdrawing the picture, let us closely view the "marchers" as they wend their way from San Gabriel "escorted by a corporal and three soldiers." Their names and conditions are as follows:

José de Lara, a Spaniard, fifty years of age, with an Indian wife and three children;

José Antonio Navarro, a mestizo (Spanish-Indian half-breed), forty-two years old, with a mulattress wife and three children;

Basilío Rosas, an Indian, sixty-eight years old, with a mulattress wife and six children;

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Antonio Mesa, a negro, thirty-eight years old, with a mulattress wife and five children (two children, says Bancroft);

Antonio F. Felix Villavicencio, a Spaniard, aged thirty years, with an Indian wife and one child;

José Vanégas, an Indian, twenty-eight years old, with an Indian wife and one child;

Alejandro Rosas, an Indian, twenty-five years old, with an Indian wife;

Pablo Rodríguez, an Indian, twenty-five years of age, with an Indian wife and one child;

Manuel Camero, a mulatto, thirty years old, with a mulattress wife.

Luis Quintero, a negro, fifty-five years old, with a mulattress wife and five children;

José Moreno, mulatto, twenty-two years old, with a mulattress wife.

"Cataloguing this extraordinary collection of adults by nationality or color," Willard writes, "we have: two Spaniards, one mestizo, two negroes, eight mulattoes, and nine (Mexican) Indians. The children are even more mixed, as follows: Spanish-Indian, four; Spanish-negro, five; negro-Indian, eight; Spanish-negro-Indian, three; Indian, two. Thus the only people of unmixed Caucasian race in the whole company were two Spanish men, on the purity of whose blood frequent aspersions were cast; and the only members of the coming generation with regular ancestry were the two Indian children."[8]

Before the city was six months old, the Spaniard José de Lara and the two negroes Antonio Mesa and Luis Quintero were formally expelled "as useless to the pueblo and to themselves. They went with their families, and thus reduced the number by sixteen."[9]

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[8] Willard, pp. 80-82. See also Bancroft, vol. i, p. 345; Hittéll, vol. i, p. 434.

[9] Willard, p. 85.

It was originally intended by Neve that these settlers should enjoy a form of self-government by choosing a mayor and councilmen; but no elections were held for the first seven years, the town being under the guidance of a petty military official. "Evidently," says Willard, "the founder of Los Angeles and his successors in the governorship felt that the people of such a sort could not be trusted to look after their own affairs."[10] This was another humiliation for Neve, who had foisted such a system upon the Missions for Indians but recently rescued from barbarism, and with disastrous results. Later, in 1788, the Mexican Indian José Vanegas was chosen alcalde or mayor of Los Angeles.[11]

"By the end of the decade (1790)," Bancroft says, "the number of settlers had been recruited, chiefly from soldiers who had served out their time, from nine to twenty-eight, who with their families made up a total population of 139. All of the original pobladores who received a formal grant of their lands in 1786 remained except Rosas. Sebastian Alvitre proved unmanageable at San José (pueblo) and after four or five years of convict life at the presidio had been sent to Los Angeles for reform.[12] The settlers were not a very orderly community, but they seem to have given attention to their fields, since the pueblo produced in 1790 more grain than any of the missions except San Gabriel, its neighbor.[13] Their dwellings, twenty-nine in number, were of adobes, like the public town hall, barrack, guardhouse, and granaries; and all were enclosed within an adobe wall, there being also a few buildings outside the wall. . . . José Vanegas was the first alcalde in 1788; José Sinova the second in 1789,

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[10] Willard, p. 84.

[11] See Bancroft, vol. i, p. 346 et seq., for details.

[12] He had eloped with an Indian girl of Mission Santa Clara named Pelágia. She was returned to that Mission.—Gov. Fages to Fr. Lasuen, January 5, 1787. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[13] In a footnote, Bancroft writes that the crops amounted to 4,500 bushels.

with Felipe Garcia and Manuel Camero as regidores. Mariano Verdugo was the third alcalde in 1790."[14]

After waiting six months and finding that the Indians on the coast had not been affected by the uprising of the Yumas on the Colorado, in July, 1781, Governor Neve[15] at last concluded to proceed making preparations for the founding of a presidio and missions on the Santa Barbara Channel. He notified the Fr. Presidente to that effect in February, 1782. Fr. Serra joyfully made the journey from San Carlos and visited the missions on the way for the purpose of administering Confirmation. On March 18, late at night, he arrived at Los Angeles and stayed there until morning, when, still fasting, for he wanted to celebrate holy Mass by all means, he started out afoot for the Mission, four leagues distant. He was then sixty-eight years of age. "His Reverence," writes Fr. Palou, "told me later that the leagues seemed to him longer, either because he went fasting or because of his great desire to arrive there. He reached the place late and found the missionary Fathers occupied as usual and with Fr. Cambon already convalescent and in condition to be able to work, which gave Fr. Serra much joy. Postponing the reception ceremonies till afterwards, he ordered the bell to be rung for holy Mass, which His Reverence sang and during which he preached a fervent sermon on the Most Holy Patriarch St. Joseph whose day it was, forgetting the fatigue of the 130 leagues from Monterey and the last four he had walked that same morning.

"In the afternoon he paid a visit to the governor, who returned the visit on the following day. On this occasion

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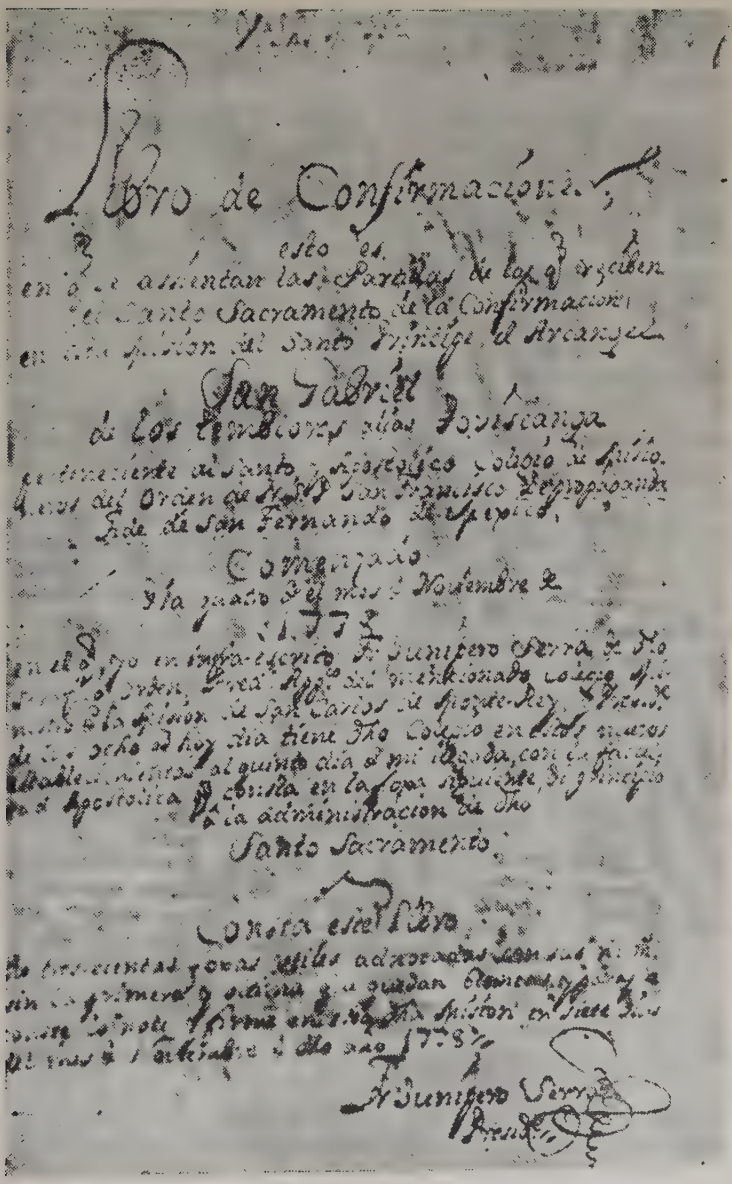
[14] Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 460-461.

[15] The governor seemed to have been in no hurry to compensate losses suffered through him. Fathers Cruzado and Sanchez wrote under date of February 5, 1784: "El macho que murio en la expedition de Colorado, y un cavallo, que murio en camino a la vuelta, pertenecen les a esta mision; todavia no se han pagado; por lo que suplicamos a V. S. (i.e., Viceroy) se sirven dar orden de pagar, etc."—*Archb. Arch.* No. 21.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esto es.
en q.e asientan las Personas de q.e reciben
el Santo Sacramento de la Confirmacion
en dha Mision del Santo Principe el Arcangel
San Gabriel
de los Temblores alias Jouiscanga
perteneciente al Santo Apostolico Colegio de Pilo.
nes de Nra Madre Ynfra Seraphica
Seda de San Fernando de Mexico.
Comenzado
en la Mision de Nra Madre
en el dho Colegio de San Fernando de Mexico
de dha Mision de San Carlos de Monterey
de dho Colegio en dhos Mares
al quinto dia de su llegada, con la Facultad
Apostolica
Santo Sacramento.
Consta este Libro
de Quarenta y dos hojas
en la Mision de Nra Madre
de dho año
Fr Junipero Serra

TITLE-PAGE OF THE CONFIRMATION REGISTER WRITTEN AND SIGNED BY FR. JUNIPERO SERRA

they discussed the subject of mission foundations and resolved to establish Mission San Buenaventura at the entrance to the Channel and, leaving there Fr. Cambon as temporary missionary, to pass on to found in the center of the Channel the presidio and the Mission of Santa Barbara, at least so Fr. Serra understood.

"Although the devoted Father desired to celebrate Holy Week at the Mission, he had to content himself with his wishes only, because the departure of the expedition was announced for March 26, which was Tuesday in Holy Week. During the six days which His Reverence passed at the Mission of San Gabriel, he on most days administered Confirmation until the very day of the departure, when, having celebrated holy Mass, he confirmed the last ones.[16] Then he set out with the expedition, which was composed of such a large multitude of people that so large a troop of soldiers had never been seen together in these settlements; for, besides the troops belonging to the presidio and three missions, seventy soldiers with their lieutenant commander for the new presidio, an ensign (Jose Argüello), three sergeants, and the corresponding corporals; the governor went with ten soldiers of the company of Monterey, their wives and families going along, since most of them were married; the muleteers with the packmules bearing provisions, servants and some Indian neophytes to make a beginning of the Mission; only the Fathers formed but a small number, limited to the venerable Fr. Junípero Serra and Fr. Pedro Cambon."[17]

The Venerable Fr. Presidente once more visited San Gabriel on his way from San Diego northward, in order to bid farewell and to confirm those who had not yet received the Sacra-

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[16] From the Register we see that on March 22 (Viernes de los VII Dolores de N. Sra M. SS.), assisted by Fathers Cruzado, Sanchez, and Cambon, he confirmed 122; on March 25 (Lunes Santo, y fiesta de la Anunciacion de Maria SS.), 135; in the evening, 14; in the afternoon, 15; which brought the number confirmed here by him on his two visits to 633.

[17] *Vida,* pp. 244-245; *The Missions,* vol. ii, pp. 367-368.

ment of Confirmation. He had left San Juan Capistrano on October 15, 1783. On Sunday, October 19, the feast of St. Peter of Alcantara, he confirmed sixty-nine; on the 21st, forty-eight; on the 23rd, nineteen; on Sunday the 26th, twenty-four; on the 28th, eleven; and on November 5, sixty-six; in all, therefore, 233. This brought the number of those confirmed by him at San Gabriel to 866. Fathers Cruzado and Sanchez had assisted him. On November 10, he embraced the Fathers and bade them farewell in order to continue his painful journey to San Buenaventura, the next Mission. "At Mission San Gabriel, as the Fathers wrote me," Fr. Palóu says, "he felt so oppressed in his chest that they thought he would die there; but for all that he did not cease to recite his Office, celebrate holy Mass, and confirm; but he was so exhausted thereafter that the Indian boys who served at holy Mass said to the missionaries with much sympathy and grief, which they would express with tears, 'Fathers, surely the old Father (so they called him) wants to die.' This affected the Fathers greatly and their hearts were heavy, the more so then, having confirmed all the neophytes, he spoke of starting out for the next Mission, San Buenaventura, as they feared lest he should die on the road, which is a distance of thirty leagues, without any settlement save those of the pagans."[18]

We have no details of missionary activities for some time after Fr. Serra's visit in November, 1783. Neve had been succeeded by Pedro Fages as governor of California. They and their troops would pass through the Mission and enjoy the hospitality of the Fathers.[19]

At the time of Fr. Serra's death, August 28, 1784, despite all the obstacles thrown in the way of the missionaries by the soldiers through their scandalous conduct, disregard for the

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[18] *Vida,* p. 263.

[19] For particulars about the change in the government and about Fr. Serra's last days at San Carlos see *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 356-364; 396-405.

missionaries as well as for the neophytes and pagans, during the thirteen years of the Mission's existence, the two missionaries had baptized as many as one thousand Indians, of whom eight hundred made up the actual Mission family under the shadow of the Cross. By that time, Fr. Serra had confirmed 866. This was remarkable success, truly. How they did it is a wonder. Their lives must have been blameless and self-sacrificing, indeed, to make the Indians overlook the wrongs suffered from the soldiers, and though free to rove around the mountains and valleys, to subject themselves to the guidance of the Fathers at the Mission, which involved much that their pagan habits disliked, for instance doing work and leading chaste lives. Agriculture had already been practiced on a large scale, though with varying success, owing to ignorance of the territorial conditions; but experiments had taught them the requisite knowledge. In 1783, for instance, 1,770 fanégas of wheat, 1,500 fanégas of corn, 150 fanégas of beans, and 23 fanégas of garbanzos had been raised. Live stock also had grown important. The Mission owned 900 head of cattle, 1,800 sheep, 1,000 goats, 140 pigs, 140 horses, and 36 mules.

The Mission was able to supply the troops with provisions, in addition to feeding its neophyte population. For instance, a report of Lieutenant Jose Francisco de Ortega, dated San Gabriel, December 31, 1787, reads as follows: "Account of the provisions which the Mission of San Gabriel supplied from June 9 to October 6 of the present year to the troops: 655 fanégas and 4½ almudes of corn, 114 fanégas and 9¾ almudes of beans, 24 fanégas and 7 almudes of wheat, 72 arróbas of manteca."[20]

An item of interest is that Ensign José Velasquez, prominent in explorations on the Colorado, died November 2, 1785, and received burial in the church of Mission San Gabriel on November 3, Fr. Miguel Sanchez officiating. His death

[20] *Cal. Arch., Prov. State Papers, Benicia,* vol. ii, no. 359.

was caused by a sore on the hand. He had come to San Diego in 1781 and belonged to the military company there.[21]

Spain being at war with England, Mission San Gabriel, in 1782, contributed $134 to the war fund. Los Angeles had only $15 to spare for the same purpose.[22]

In his report of the year 1787, Governor Fages says of San Gabriel: "Mission San Gabriel, distant 18 leagues from the preceding (San Juan Capistrano), occupies a beautiful plain, with facilities for establishing a populous settlement, for which purpose only stones and timbers are wanting. Though not impossible, it is as yet very difficult. The present establishment had land and water in abundance, the former of middling quality, the latter likewise constant all the year round. With these good qualities correspond the harvests of all grains, and it can not be denied that the activity and efforts of the Mission Fathers have equaled the fertility of the fields which have been cultivated by them. In this way they have been able to provide abundantly for the maintenance of its Indians; have succored the greatest needs which have been experienced in the territory, their succor reaching even as far as Lower California; have facilitated the expeditions and very costly enterprises which would have been almost impracticable without its supplies. It is to a great extent true that it has sustained the conquest (of California). Its Indians possess the character of the lazy, the cowardly, and the thievish, even in the disturbances or the semblance of the revolt in which for a short time they were engaged. These qualities have been noted in them. At present they continue quiet and peaceful. To the possession of the herds correspond the said abundant harvests. Its language extends to about midway on our road to the next Mission, San Buenaventura."[23]

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[21] Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 451, 454.

[22] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, p. 390.

[23] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Mis. & Colon.*, vol. i, 132 Banc. Coll.

For the new missions founded in 1791, Santa Cruz and Soledad, Mission San Gabriel contributed one altar-bread box, two corporals, two cinctures of silk, six purificators, four finger towels, one altar covering, two small altar bells, and one altar stone.[24]

Apparently in 1792, Antonio Domingo Henriquez was at Mission San Gabriel with his wife in order to teach the making of spinning-wheels, warping-frames, looms, and all the various tools of the weaver's art, except the implement for carding. He taught also carding, spinning, and weaving. Fr. Lasuén praised his skill very highly.[25]

By the year 1790, San Gabriel "in neophyte numbers," says Bancroft, "was second only to San Antonio, while in livestock and farm products this Mission had far outstripped all the rest. The governor[26] alludes to it as having often relieved the necessities of other establishments in both Californias, and as having enabled the government to carry out important undertakings that without such aid would have been impracticable. Prosperity did not, however, carry in its train much excitement in the way of local events, and the calm of this Mission of the great Archangel on the river of earthquakes was disturbed only by one or two slight troubles, or rumors of trouble, with the natives. In October, 1785, the neophytes and gentiles were tempted by a woman, so at least the men said, into a plan to attack the Mission and kill the friars. The corporal in command prevented the success of the scheme without bloodshed, and captured some twenty of the conspirators. Fages hurried south from the capital, put the four ringleaders in prison to await the decision of the commandant-general, and released the rest with fifteen or twenty lashes each. Two years later came General Ugarte's order condemning one native, Nicolas, to

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[24] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 454.

[25] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 536.

[26] Pedro Fages, as has already been said.

six years of work at the presidio followed by exile to a distant Mission. The woman was sent into perpetual exile, and the other two were dismissed with the two years' imprisonment already suffered."[27]

In 1796 it was discovered that colts, mares, horses would disappear. Once four or five pagans were caught, who confessed that they had taken two mares and one lamb. The corporal put them in the stocks awhile as punishment.[28] This was only one instance, as the Mission suffered in that way frequently; but no one was apprehended nor were the animals recovered.

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[27] Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 459-460.

[28] Fr. Sanchez to Fr. Lasuén, March 17, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER V

Disagreeable Neighbors.—Various Land Claims.—San Rafael or La Zanja, San Pedro, El Encino, El Portezuelo, El Nieto, La Puente.—Fr. Miguel Sanchez Resists Claims.—Fr. Fermin de Lasuén.—Success of Mission.—Building Activities.—New Church.—Annual Elections.—Death of FF. Sanchez and Cruzado.—Rev. José Ant. M. Argüello, First Native Priest.

THE proximity of the settlers, especially from the class that could be induced to exchange Mexico for California, was sure to prove troublesome to the Mission. Large tracts of land never tilled before had been rendered productive by the Indian converts under the supervision of the Franciscan friars. Other portions, also of right the property of the native Indians, had been set apart for pasturing the numerous herds of domestic animals in order to secure the material for clothing the neophytes and for supplying the necessary meat and milk. The Mission in this way had become entirely self-supporting.

All over the territory vast stretches of land lay waste just as the Mission lands had lain waste before the plough of Indian industry made them productive. Settlers could have staked off, tilled and irrigated such tracts as were not claimed by any Mission, and their toil would have met the reward which the labor of the neophytes obtained. They would have prospered just as the Missions were now prospering. The colonists that came to California, however, were not fond of manual labor. They preferred to possess themselves of land already cultivated, and therefore they sought to spare themselves by having the work done by pagan Indians at a nominal cost. "The colonists," Fathers Salazár and Señan, on their return to Mexico tell the viceroy in their memorials as early as 1796, "find it more necessary to gamble and to play the guitar than to teach their children and attend to their work. It is easier to see them with a

pack of cards in their hands than with the spade or plough. Whatever is effected in those pueblos (Los Angeles and San José) is due more to the gentile Indian of the neighboring rancherias than to the settlers. It is the hired Indian who plows, sows, harvests, in a word does nearly everything. The Indian for his labor is given his meals and a blanket. With this garment he then struts around prouder than any one, unwilling to trouble himself about religion."[1]

Hence it was that such would-be agriculturists, even those of a better class, being lovers of ease, endeavored to obtain from governors, under one pretext or another, grants of the lands which they coveted, notwithstanding that such areas were owned and had been cultivated or used as pastures by the Mission Indians for the benefit of the neophyte community. Some such claimants succeeded in the end; others failed. We herewith enumerate the most notable cases. The first one is very important, as well as interesting, because the petitioner described the lands and supplied some historical data.

On November 14, 1791, Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega, favored in his time by Fr. Serra, wrote from Mission San Gabriel to Governor José Antonio Roméu: "After attending to the accounts of the military company, I passed on to San Gabriel in virtue of the permit of Your Honor, in order to secure, somewhat beyond, the house, water ditches, and corrals on the site of which I told Your Honor. However, as for that work the aid of one hundred laborers of the Mission was necessary, I spoke about it to the Reverend Missionary Fathers asking the aid and the condition of paying for the labor. They replied that they could not supply it, because they had orders from their Fr. Presidente to excuse themselves until his Reverence had conferred with the governor, whereupon he would notify them as to what they should do. For that reason it seemed proper to me to

[1] Fr. Salazár, *Representacion,* May 11, 1796; Fr. Señan, *Representacion,* May 14, 1796.—*Santa Barbara Archives.*

wait, notwithstanding that I have Your Honor's consent. It seems to me expedient for your better understanding to say that in the year 1771, when this Mission was founded, Fathers Pedro Cambon and Angel Somera were appointed its missionaries; and that, taking the guards composed of a sergeant, a corporal, and fourteen soldiers, they surveyed the site which I am claiming. They did not find the site suitable and for that reason moved the Mission, locating it at the Mission Vieja on the banks of this river. From there they removed it to the land on which it is now. It is certain that it has been sufficient to maintain in abundance its neophytes and many more, as experience has manifested.

"Toward the east, where the cattle and the horses of this Mission have their pastures, there is a vast stretch with an abundance of water, soil, pastures, timber, etc. To the south likewise are the thousands of cattle and also the horses of this Mission, on fertile lands, to a distance of at least six leagues. To the north, along the foot of the sierra, are the ranchos for the sheep.

"Likewise it seems proper to me to tell Your Honor, for the sake of clearness, that I took the trouble of measuring the distance from the Mission to the site which I desire as a grant. Accordingly, from it to Mission Vieja there are 7,500 varas (4¾ miles); and from the first crossing of the ford of this river for San Diego there are 10,200 varas (7 miles); and to the banks of the Santa Ana, where Your Honor rested on the day when you reached here, are 12,700 varas (7.128 miles); and to where I have a mind to place the house and corral, there may be from here 2¾ leagues."[2] The result of the petition is not known.

Other petitions for lands were presented to successive governors, and at times with some success. In other cases, however, the missionaries vigorously protested in the name of their wards. Here are a few grants:

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[2] *Col. Arch., Prov. St. Papers,* vol. x, pp. 8-10.

"In February, 1795," says Bancroft, "there were five ranchos in private possession, held under provisional grants and supporting several thousand head of livestock. The first was San Rafael, granted by Gov. Fages, October 20, 1784, to the retired corporal of the San Diego company José Maria Verdugo. It was also known as La Zanja, described as across the river and four leagues from Los Angeles, and was confirmed by Gov. Borica January 12, 1798. Fages on October 20 permitted Verdugo to keep his cattle at Arroyo Hondo, one and a half leagues from San Gabriel on the road to Monterey, on condition that no harm was done to Mission or pueblo, and that care was taken with the natives. January 12, 1798, in answer to his petition of November 4, 1797. Borica permitted him to settle with his family, relatives, and property, under like conditions, and the new one of raising sheep, at La Zanja.

"The second rancho was that of Manuel Nieto, held under Fages' permission of November, 1784, the largest and best of all, supporting 1,100 head of cattle and large enough for a pueblo, since well known as Los Nietos, and formerly granted in several tracts to Nieto's heirs by Figueroa in 1834. In 1795-1796 the Mission of San Gabriel laid claim to Nieto's land, called at the time La Zanja. After an investigation Borica allowed Nieto to retain what land he had actually under cultivation and in use, the rest to be used by the Mission without prejudice to Nieto's rights. This grant came before the U. S. Land Commission in later times in five separate tracts: Los Cerritos, Los Coyotes, Las Bolsas, Los Alamitos, and Santa Gertrudis, aggregating 33 square leagues.

"The third was the famous San Pedro, or Dominguez rancho, occupied by Juan José Dominguez with about a thousand head of cattle under the permission given very likely by Fages, but the date of which is not known. It was regranted by Gov. Solá in 1822, and is one of the few California ranchos that have remained in the possession of the original grantees and their descendants. It was granted by Solá December 31, 1822, to Sergeant Cristóbal Dominguez,

a nephew and heir of Juan José. The author of *Los Angeles History*, 8, 9, supposes this grant to have been originally made before 1800, chiefly on the testimony of Manuel Dominguez and other settlers. No one has until now shown any documentary proof.

"Fourth in the list was the rancho at Portezuelo, smaller but fertile and well watered and stocked with cattle on a small scale, situated about four leagues from Los Angeles on the main road, and occupied by the old veteran Sergeant Mariano de Luz Verdugo.

"The fifth and last was the Encino rancho, where Alcalde Francisco Reyes had a house and where he kept his own livestock as well as that of Cornelio Avila and others. This was where San Fernando was established in 1797."[3]

It may be remarked here that another Verdugo, José Maria, was corporal of the Mission guard much of the time to 1798, when Pedro Pollorena succeeded him. José Miguel Flores, a discharged soldier, was mayordomo of the Mission down to his death in 1796.[4]

Notwithstanding that Nieto had received innumerable benefits from the Mission, as Fr. Sanchez writes to Fr. Lasuén on March 17, 1796, and notwithstanding that the Fathers told him that they needed it for the support of the neophytes, the soldier Manuel Nieto set his heart on possessing a tract of land with water, which at the time was called La Zanja de la Puente. Even with it the Fathers had a hard time, some years, harvesting enough for the neophytes.

"At La Puente the Mission had 3,000 head of cattle and more than 4,000 sheep, besides the horses. They needed the pasture and the water. Be it remembered, Fr. Sanchez wrote under date of March 20, 1796, that the Indians will not always be satisfied with limited rations, a cotton blanket, and a breechcloth. The Indians are poor, indeed, while Nieto is not poor; he has more horses than the Mission,

[3] Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 661-663.

[4] Bancroft, p. 664.

UNIVERSAL CONVEYANCE AS WELL AS FREIGHT CARRIER IN THE EARLY DAYS

whose stock is exposed to thieves. His cattle must be sufficiently numerous; yet these years, in order to spare them and not have to slaughter some, he begged the Mission and enough cattle were given him. This year it is said he harvested 1,000 fanégas of corn, although he told me he paid sixty as tithes (which went to the government, not to the Church or Mission), hence 600 fanégas. He harvested some wheat and a good quantity of beans, whereas we in that region harvested only 300 fanégas of grain."[5]

It is remarkable that, although the settlers thus early made life disagreeable to the Indians at the Mission, the Fathers succeeded in making converts and retaining them. Even after letting them go for long periods, the Indians would return. They must have loved the Fathers and the latter must have deserved it. Even the dull Indians saw that it was better to live in community with such guides than to enjoy the freedom of the mountains; and life at the Mission must have been attractive with its wonderful religious services, singing, and diversions.

By order of Governor Borica, Lieutenant Felipe de Goycoechea[6] surveyed the land in dispute and examined its conditions as also those of the Mission. The report he drew up was transmitted to the Fathers for their opinion. "We read them," says Fr. Sanchez, April 26, 1796, in a letter to Fr. Lasuén, "and we have to say that, in order that the Indian neophytes may live in tolerable comfort, they need the land and water of La Zanja de la Puente for the planting of corn; for, although in the immediate vicinity of the Mission there is much land, as shown by Goycoechea's report, it is not good, especially not for corn, and even for wheat it yields not a good quality nor quantity. In other parts,

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[5] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

[6] A poor choice. He was military commander of the presidio at Santa Barbara, whence in 1802 he was removed to Mexico on account of unjust charges against the missionaries.—See *The Missions*, vol. ii, p. 583.

like San Juan Capistrano, they harvest more, although they sow less.

"During all these years, while the Mission population increased, all the land that could be irrigated was planted in grain; more than forty or fifty fanégas of wheat were sown but not irrigated, and so it depended upon the rains. In some years all the seeds perished, in some there was a small harvest; but in a year of sufficient rain it yielded well. For this year we have sown forty fanégas, more than we think can be irrigated. All these efforts do not suffice to produce sufficient rations for the Indians. In the year preceding this, we saw ourselves compelled to send half of the neophytes for some months into the mountains to search for food after the manner of the savages, whilst we maintained these staying here on half rations and a little milk, until the time of the wheat harvest, save on the days when meat was given to all.

"In order to unite the five zanjas to the northeast of this Mission, as intimated in the report, much difficulty would be encountered, and when it is overcome, the utility would be small. . . . As the land is very sandy, the water is soon absorbed; yet every year wheat is sown, some of it is irrigated, and a part of it is left to depend upon the rain.

"The place of La Zanja which Governor Fages assigned to the soldier Manuel Nieto is not that of La Puente, of which the report speaks, but the land between this Mission and El Encino. If we have there a good corn field and use all the water of the Mission for the fields of wheat, beans, peas, etc., we think it sufficient for the maintenance of the Indians with us now; as to the future, Your Reverence will see."[7]

Next day, April 27, 1796, Fr. Sanchez once more wrote to Fr. Lasuén: "The mail carrier came while I was celebrating holy Mass, and he is about to start. For God's sake, Your Reverence, see that the differences are composed, even if

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[7] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

the land is adjudged to him, and he receive the water every week for one day or more, etc."[8]

In 1799 another struggle arose, because Dominguez claimed some cattle. Fr. Sanchez wrote to Fr. Lasuen on February 25, 1799, who sent the letter to Governor Borica.[9]

In the fall of 1802, Manuel Nieto represented to Governor Arrillaga "that the predecessors had in the name of the king given him possession of the Rancho Santa Gertrudis, alias Seyoveit. It was conceded to the Mission to sow on land close to mine,[10] which is prejudicial to me, as the Indians kill and steal my cattle, I have complained to the Rev. Fathers but without avail. I supplicate that it please you to declare whether to me or to the Mission is conceded the right to the place, so that either the Mission retire or I cede the whole place which former governors granted to me, October 24, 1802." Nieto could not write; hence the name was not attached.[11]

Arrillaga, at Loreto, on December 14, 1802, at the foot of the letter noted that the matter was referred to the lieutenant of San Diego, Manuel Rodriguez. Fr. Lasuén in turn noted under the copy "that he had written to Fr. Sanchez that he should propose and repeat the paragraph which he pointed out, which was not included, and that he should bear in mind why he (Fr. Lasuén) ceased urging the matter; namely, because Borica had firmly said: 'I have already told Nieto that he was permitted the cultivation and the use of those lands whilst the Mission does not need them;' and later again, 'I have given possession to Nieto of that place.' "[12]

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[8] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[9] *Archb. Arch.* No. 185.

[10] What must the unsophisticated Indians have thought, to whom all the land belonged but which was given away without asking them, now that they were even accused of encroaching on land their own, in fact, and in justice, whereas it should have been said that Nieto was intruding on Indian land.

[11] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[12] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, undated.

With the year 1784, begin the Annual Reports. By the end of that year, Mission San Gabriel had entered 1,102 Baptisms. It was surpassed by Mission San Antonio only which listed 1,127 Baptisms. The Fathers had blessed 218 marriages and had buried 353 dead. There were 739 neophytes living in charge of the Fathers at the Mission or at the Mission ranchos. It was surpassed in this respect by Missions San Diego and San Antonio.

In the way of livestock, the Mission possessed 900 head of cattle, 1,900 sheep, 1,000 goats, 140 pigs, 147 horses, and 36 mules.

In 1784, the harvest amounted to 1,701 fanégas (2,935 bushels) of wheat, 1,575 fanégas (2,623 bushels) of corn, 130 fanégas of beans, 21 fanégas of lentils, and 2 fanégas of garbanzos or horse-beans.

The Biennial Reports begin with the years 1792-1794. In this latter year, the Mission fed, clothed, etc., 644 male and 616 female neophytes, in all 1,263. In this regard it was surpassed only by Mission Santa Clara which had 779 male and 649 female converts, in all, 1,418.

In the same year, according to the report of Fr. Presidente Lasuén, dated March 11, 1795, San Gabriel was building a new church of stone and mortar, and had raised it to half its intended height. The first stone was therefore laid about 1790 or 1791.

According to Bancroft, in 1796, cloth was woven from cotton procured at San Blas. In July, 200 arrobas[13] of wool were offered at 20 reales an arroba, or for ten cents a pound. In 1798, there were due to Mission San Gabriel from the presidio of San Diego $2,597, and from the presidio of Santa Barbara $3,311, in 1797, for supplies.[14]

Fr. Lasuén also informed the governor and the mother college that Mission San Gabriel had woven mantas of cotton.

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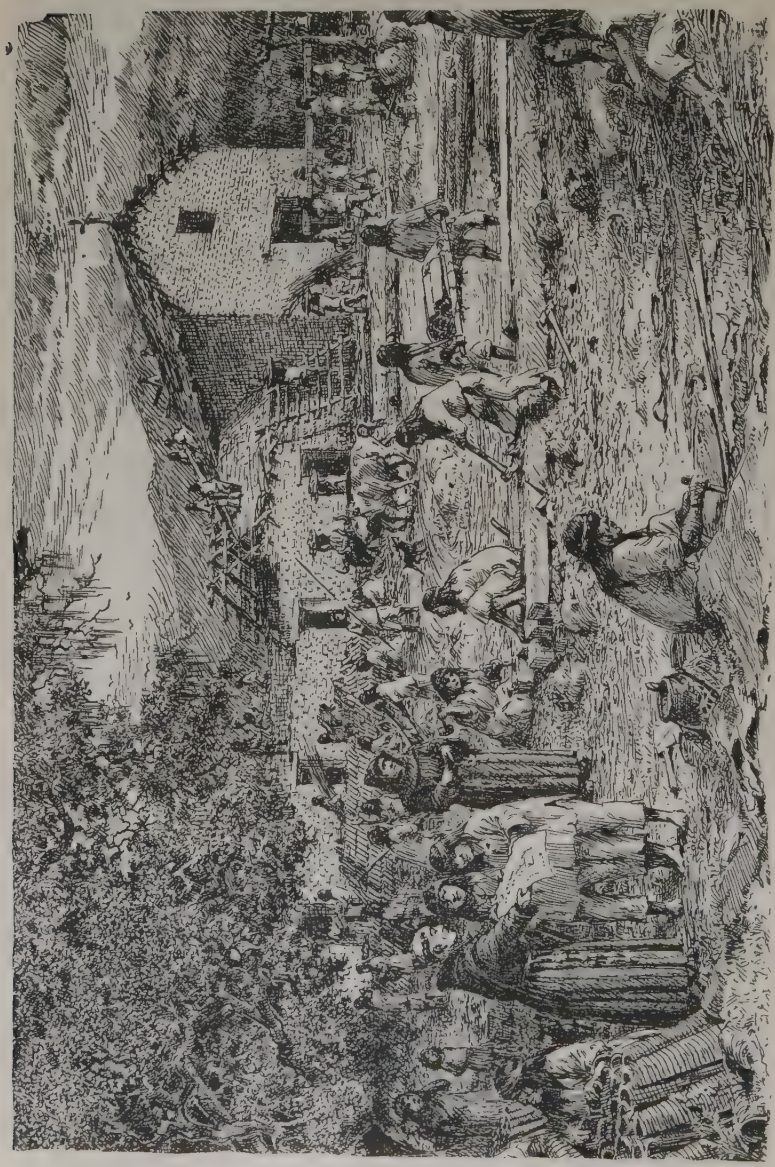
[13] An arróba is equivalent to twenty-five pounds.

[14] *California*, vol. i, p. 665.



AT WORK ON THE FIRST PERMANENT CHURCH AND MISSION BUILDINGS

Of course, some Indians were occupied as carpenters, others as masons, etc. Hides also had been tanned.

On February 6, 1797, Fr. Lasuén reported to the College that the church was still under construction; but on February 20, 1799, he wrote: "The church of San Gabriel has already been roofed, except the rear part." He also remarked that "grapes are eaten and some wine is pressed."

On February 25, 1801, Fr. Lasuén reported in his Biennial: "The vaulted roof of the church of San Gabriel has been finished entirely, but the ceiling has suffered cracks. They now doubt whether it may not be necessary to take it down and build it anew, or whether in that case they may not rather replace it with a roof of timbers."

Again, on February 21, 1803, he wrote: "The church of San Gabriel is already whitewashed, because there seems to be no fear, and the cracks discovered in the vaulted ceiling have already been repaired." The venerable Fr. Presidente did not live to see the edifice completed, for he died on June 26th of the same year at San Carlos. His successor, Fr. Estévan Tapis, finally reported to the College, on February 21, 1805: "The church of San Gabriel, after the cracks had been repaired, was blessed and the holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated therein. In consequence of a violent earthquake, new cracks have been discovered in the concrete vaulted roof. For this reason, in the judgment of an intelligent mason, they will have to take it down and substitute in its place for security's sake a roof of timber and tiles. This will be done under the direction of said mason, when the floods have passed away."[15]

The annual elections introduced by Governor Neve were held regularly. For instance, on January 1, 1799, there were chosen as alcaldes, Pedro Celestino and Eustaquio Maria; as regidores, José Cupertino and Tranquilo José, Fathers Cruzado and Sanchez so reported.[16]

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[15] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[16] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The first Biennial Report extant of the Mission, for the two years, 1796 and 1797, is signed by Fathers Cruzado and Sanchez and is dated December 31, 1798. It shows that the Mission had in 1796 as many as 675 male and 656 female neophytes, in all 1,331. In 1798, there were 666 male and 645 female, in all 1,311 neophytes. Hence there was a loss of twenty. In these two years, 173 Indians were baptized, 55 Indian couples were joined in Christian marriage, and 188 deaths had occurred. At the same time, the Fathers, who had charge also of Los Angeles, could record 21 Baptisms of whites, 6 marriages, and 13 deaths. The number of whites in the registers grew thereafter, as will be seen in the tables near the end of the volume.

Building activities are reported from year to year after this. The first report of the kind is dated December 31, 1804. According to the Fathers, there were constructed ten rooms to serve for granary, weaving room, carpenter shop, pantry, storeroom, and dwelling for the priests. The structure including all these apartments measured 125 yards in length and 13 yards in width. All were roofed with pine timbers and covered with tiles. It had corridors which also were tiled. The pillars were of brick and mortar.

The Mission suffered a great loss through the death of Fathers Cruzado and Sanchez, who had toiled together for thirty years at this place, during which time they erected the spacious church. Fr. Miguel Sanchez passed away on July 27, 1803.[17] His successor was Fr. Isidro de Barcenilla. Fr. Antonio Cruzado survived his companion little more than a year. He died on October 11, 1804, at the age of eighty years. Details about both these worthy men will be found in the biographical sketches. He was succeeded by Fr. José de Miguel.

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[17] In January, 1802, José Maria Pico is mentioned as corporal of the guards at San Gabriel. He was the father of Pio Pico of unsavory memory.—*Archb. Arch.*, No. 229.

At the end of 1805, in their Annual Report, Fathers José de Miguel and José Urrestí informed the Fr. Presidente that nine rooms had been erected to serve as granaries and for other purposes of the Mission. Together they measured 135 varas in length and six and one-half in width. This structure of adobe was roofed with tiles, and the walls were plastered. The floor was of brick. Along the whole length ran a corridor the pillars of which were of brick laid in mortar.

Fathers José de Miguel and José Maria de Zalvidea report under date of December 31, 1807, that thirty houses of adobe, five by six varas in size and roofed with tiles, had been erected for that many neophyte families. The doors and windows were of pine wood.

In 1807, the Mission was designated as the house of retreat for the Fathers of the district.[18]

In 1808, both Fathers write that forty-seven adobe houses for the Indians had been built. They all measured five by six varas and had tile roofs. The Fathers report also that the vaulted roof of the church was taken down this year because it threatened to collapse; it was replaced by a flat roof of brick and mortar (azotea de mezcla y ladrillo).

In 1809 a granary was constructed, which measured sixty varas in length and seven varas in width. In that or the following year, a wing was built to the existing buildings seventy by six varas. It comprised six rooms or apartments for the use of the Mission. All were of adobe and roofed with tiles. This long structure faced a corridor, and completed the inner court or patio. Another building rose at the same time, thirty varas long and six varas wide, which contained four tanks for tanning hides.

We close the chapter with the record of a happy event, which brought much joy to the missionaries, neophytes, and settlers. This was the arrival, early in September, 1809, of Rev. José Ignacio Maximo Argüello, son of Captain José

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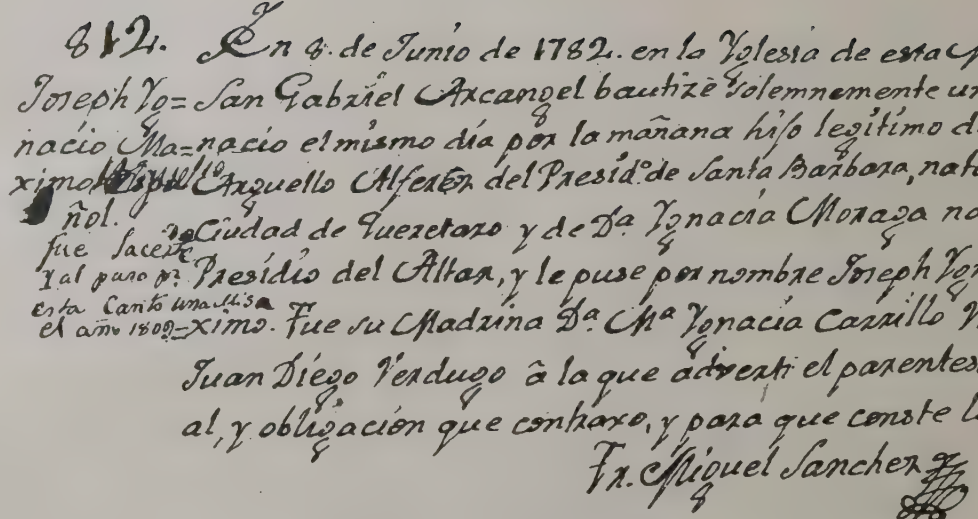
[18] *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, p. 630.



1782. En 4. de Junio de 1782. en la Yglesia de esta Mision de Joseph Yo= San Gabriel Arcangel bautizè solemnemente un Niño que nacio Ma= nacio el mismo dia por la mañana hijo legitimo de Dn Joseph ximo Miguel Arguello Alferez del Presidio de Santa Barbara, natural de la ñol. Ciudad de Queretaro y de Da Ygnacia Moraga natural del fue sacerd Yal paso Dn Presidio del Altar, y le puse por nombre Joseph Ygnacio Espa= esta Canto una fis= el año 1809= ximo. Fue su Madrina Da Mª Ygnacia Carrillo Viuda del Sr Juan Diego Verdugo â la que advertì el parentesco espiritu= al, y obligacion que contraxo, y para que conste lo firmè.

Fr. Miguel Sanchez

FACSIMILE OF THE ENTRY OF FATHER ARGUELLO'S BAPTISM

Dario Argüello of Santa Barbara, later governor of Lower California. His father was of the company of soldiers who in July, 1781, had escorted the forty families of recruits by way of the Colorado River to San Gabriel. Here as will be remembered all lingered about the Mission till March, 1782. The wife of Ensign Argüello, who was with child, remained some months longer, and June 8th gave birth to an infant that was baptized at the Mission Church on the same day by Fr. Miguel Sanchez. The entry in the Register reads as follows: "On June 8, 1782, in the church of this Mission of San Gabriel, the Archangel, I solemnly baptized a male infant, who was born that same day in the morning, the legitimate son of Don Joseph Argüello, ensign of the presidio of Santa Barbara, native of the city of Querétaro, and of Doña Ignacia Moraga, native of the presidio of Altár. I gave him the name Joseph Ignacio Maximo. His Godmother was Doña Maria Ignacia Carrillo, widow of Señor Juan Diego Verdugo, whom I reminded of the spiritual relationship and the obligation which she contracted. In testimony thereof I sign—Fr. Miguel Sanchez." The boy grew up at Santa Barbara, and in time manifested a strong desire to study for the priesthood. His father accordingly sent him to a seminary where he was ordained priest at the end of the requisite studies, probably in the summer of 1809. On his way to Santa Barbara the young priest stopped at the place of his birth. Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea seized the opportunity to impress their neophytes and the settlers by having the Rev. Father Argüello sing the High Mass in the Mission church. Probably both missionaries assisted him as deacons, and one of them doubtless preached an appropriate sermon. "He was a priest, and on passing by way of this Mission he sang the High Mass in 1809," which is all that was recorded on the margin of the Baptismal Register. Young Father Argüello then continued his journey to make his parents and sister happy. On reaching Mission San Buenaventura he was invited to celebrate the solemn High Mass of the dedication of the new church on September 6, 1809. After

visiting his family at Santa Barbara, Rev. José Argüello, the only native of California who became a priest before the year, 1846, returned to Mexico. The celebrated Doña Concepcion Argüello, who figures conspicuously at the presidio of San Francisco, and later played an heroic role with her parents in Lower California, was the young priest's sister. If we may believe Bancroft (vol. ii, p. 360), the Rev. José Ignacio Argüello later became curate of Torin on the Yaqui River, and was subsequently killed in the uprising of the Yaquis.

CHAPTER VI

Complaints of Los Angeles Settlers.—The Fr. Presidente's Action.—Replies of Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea.—Unreasonable Demands of Colonists.—Remedies Proposed.—Extraordinary Number of Sick.—The Malady.—Hospital at the Mission.—Great Mortality and the Cause.—Pagans and Neophytes.—The Fathers Overburdened.—Contemplated Revolt.

"THERE were two controversies," says Bancroft, "neither of them very bitter, between the settlers at the pueblo and the friars, both occurring in 1810. The missionaries were accused of having cut off the town's supply of water by damming the river of Cahuenga; but it seems that they were willing to remove the dam if it could be proved that the settlers were really injured.

"The other difficulty arose from complaints that the padres refused to attend to the spiritual care of the sick at Los Angeles. President Tapis in a private letter warned the missionaries that it would be extremely prejudicial to Franciscan interests if such complaints were to reach the superior tribunal. He urged them not to fear hard work, and threatened to change places with one of them (Fr. Zalvidea and Fr. Dumetz). The friars replied that on the two occasions when they refused attendance one of them was absent and the other busy with sick neophytes. They claimed, however, that it was not possible for the two ministros to properly care for the pueblo and the ranchos so far away. The supreme government could not blame them for not neglecting their neophytes, and the settlers could bring their sick to the Mission until a chaplain could be employed."[1] Fortunately the original documents concerning the question are still extant. We can, therefore, present the matter more intelligently.

Sergeant Xavier Alvarado, who held the office of comisionado for the town of Los Angeles, on January 17, 1810,

[1] Bancroft, *California,* vol. i, p. 113.

complained in writing to Captain José Argüello of Santa Barbara, that the missionaries of San Gabriel had twice refused to answer sick-calls from its settlers. Argüello referred the matter to Governor Arrillaga on February 22, 1810, and Arrillaga, on March 1, transmitted copies of both letters to Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis. The latter responded to the governor's note that the comisionado of Los Angeles should have communicated the terms of the refusal and the reasons therefor. Now he would have to inquire of the Fathers before he could condemn them. That was proper, and had Fr. Tápis in the first instance confined himself to inquiring, unnecessary letters and annoyances would have been avoided. Instead, the Fr. Presidente, under date of March 6, while sending to Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea of San Gabriel copies of the letters of the three officials, also lectured the Fathers on their duties, and declared that, if the accusations were true, he himself would go to San Gabriel which would necessitate the removal of one of them. "For God's sake," he concluded, "attend to the people of the pueblo. If the labor is great, the reward likewise will be great." This unnecessary threat and admonition naturally pained the two zealous Fathers keenly.

In reply, on March 17, Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea wrote: "We have to say that one Saturday night, messengers came to call a missionary from this Mission of San Gabriel to the Pueblo of Los Angeles in order to hear the confession of Juan Francisco Reyes; and on another day a call came for a Father to hear the confession of Guillermo Soto. Both times they were told that just then no one could go, because one of the Fathers was absent from the Mission, while the other was occupied giving the Sacraments to neophytes of the Mission; aged Fr. Dumetz himself was ill, as well as a number of neophytes who were very ill. For this reason the messenger was advised to bring the sick to the Mission, where a house would be assigned them, and where they could be assisted with all the spiritual aids they needed; for under the circumstances the one Father could not abandon the Indians, 'to whom he had

obligations in justice, whereas the pueblo was attended out of mere charity.'"

As the missionaries had come for the Indian alone in the capacity of parents, indeed they were obliged in justice to see to their spiritual wants. Toward such whites as happened to have settled in the neighborhood of the Indians, they had no other obligation save that of charity so long as no regularly appointed chaplain attended the whites. This doubtless angered the whites, as they imagined that they must be preferred to Indians at any time. Hence the accusation, trumped up out of spite, as the Fathers intimate in their defense. Nor were the missionaries asking too much when they advised that the infirm be brought to the Mission, since it was no more than transferring seriously sick to a hospital, which is something common even now, and was customary with the pagan Indians as well as with those who lived far from the Mission.

"The sick settlers were not brought to the Mission," the Fathers continue. "On the following day, however, after having attended to the spiritual and corporal wants of the sick neophytes, the missionary went to assist Reyes and Soto at the town. It is certain that the missionaries of San Gabriel have told the comisionado of the pueblo in word and in writing that he should make arrangements, in case a settler became sick, to take him to the Mission, where a house would be placed at his service, and where he would have the consolation of receiving all the Sacraments, and could confess whenever opportunity offered, while at the same time they would enjoy having the priest in the last moments."

It will be observed that the first call came on a Saturday night when the priests are especially occupied in preparation for the Sunday. Unless the case was urgent, when the priest would have accompanied the messenger over the ten miles of rough roads, it was unreasonable to demand the presence of the priest merely for a confession. In both cases the messenger was doubtless questioned as to the urgency of the case, and when the Fathers learned that haste was not necessary, they quite

properly told them that the priest would come as soon as he was at liberty. Those Angelenos were not overburdened with piety, and they often made demands which showed little respect for the dignity of the priest. At any rate, the missionaries had first to attend the grave cases of their wards before they could make long journeys to gratify mere whims of the ungrateful settlers.

"It is certain," the Fathers continue, "that said missionaries have so told the comisionado of the pueblo that since the duties of the missionary Fathers of San Gabriel were numerous and they daily had sick to attend to, and since there were not always two missionaries at the Mission, they might see themselves occasionally unable to visit the town when the sick desire; and, furthermore, that they should remind the higher officials of this so that they might provide a resident curate for the settlement or pueblo, inasmuch as it has already a considerable population and a resident pastor would be necessary. That is what has happened so far.

"At the Mission," the Fathers explain, "a putrid and contagious malady has recently been inflicted on the Indians. It began to show itself after the sojourn which Don J. B. Anza's expedition made at San Gabriel and, in the course of time it has spread among the Indians here to such an extent that as soon as a child is born it already has in itself this contagion.[2] Hence it is that every day there are more sick, and consequently there is more labor for the Fathers to administer the spiritual succor which they are obliged to give to the neophytes. Occasions therefore arise when, on account of being so burdened with administering aid to the neophytes, they are unable to go to the pueblo of Los Angeles to exercise the ministry when the settlers demand it.

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[2] I.e., venereal disease, which the Spaniards commonly called *Mal Gálico,* because during the French occupation soldiers introduced the malady into the kingdom of Naples. With the Indians it had a deadly effect, and was the real cause of the frightful death rate, not only at San Gabriel, but wherever the neophytes came into contact with the uniformed scum of society from Mexico.

"Therefore, out of sympathy for the unfortunate settlers, we beseech for charity's sake that, so long as there is no chaplain assigned them, arrangements be made, so that, when any settler takes sick, they might bring him to the Mission in

SAN GABRIEL MISSION DISTRICT BEFORE 1800

some comfortable way. Thus he will have the spiritual consolation which every Christian desires.—Fr. José de Miguel, Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea."[3]

The proposition to appoint a chaplain for Los Angeles and thus avoid all difficulties must have nettled good "Papa" Arril-

[3] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

laga, as he was affectionately called. It implied a blame of the government whose duty it was to provide for the spiritual needs of the colonists invited to California. The chaplain would have to receive a salary which would have to be paid by the settlers. They, however, demanded that the priest should serve them without compensation. Their impudence went farther. They demanded that the missionaries should neglect their Indian wards in their distress, and proceed to attend settlers ten miles distant at Los Angeles. The thought scarcely entered their mind that they ought at least to provide a conveyance for the priest; much less did they consider what hardships the journey entailed for him and that going to and from Los Angeles, there being as yet no buggies or automobiles, implied the loss of a whole day. Arrillaga, like the Mexican government whose duty it really was to care for the settlers in every way, did not wish to burden the treasury, and so he reminded Fr. Presidente Tapis that, although he sympathized with the Fathers of Mission San Gabriel, they were not alone in suffering hardship. Fr. Tapis apparently took the same view, and so informed the Fathers of San Gabriel. That was more than seemed right to accept without an explanation of the conditions prevailing at the Mission. Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea accordingly stated their predicament at some length under date of May 24, 1910. We are thankful to Fr. Presidente Tapis for having by his unjust reproof caused the two Fathers to defend their methods, because much light was thrown on the situation at San Gabriel which but for this frank and fearless statement would have remained scarcely intelligible. The English translation of the remonstrance signed by both missionaries reads as follows:

"Very Rev. Fr. Presidente: The reply which is given us to the answers which we made to the official complaints of the sergeant, of the comisionado, and of Capt. José de Argüello is very ambiguous and unsatisfactory. We hoped that some satisfaction would have been made to us for the bad faith and little candor of the said two officials' papers, especially of the one

from our brother, Don José de Argüello, who should not have sent such a report, which is calculated to augment the poison which the former contained. However, we as Christians, Catholics, and Religious forgive those who wanted to annoy us.

"In the letter of May 2 of the present year, Your Reverence tells us that the governor remarks that in all other Missions the same difficulties exist; that the governor sympathizes with us; but that to change the method, as we proposed, does not seem just to him, because, although one or the other could have the means of having himself taken such a distance, yet there would be those who were not able; and that to make it a practice to take the infirm to your Mission, would be very burdensome to that pueblo, etc.

"To all this we reply by saying that the charge that it was refused to go to the pueblo and give spiritual assistance when the sick asked for it, rests on the occasion when the one missionary, who was at the Mission, was occupied in doing that same service; for even the very son of the deceased Reyes, who came a second time to call the missionary to the pueblo, saw that he was occupied administering spiritual aid to the sick of the Mission.

"We presume, of course, that in all the Missions there are many more infirm than formerly; but at the same time it is certain that the doctor of Monterey said that he had not seen in any of the missions as many as there are here; and yet he had not seen one-half of the sick of this Mission. However, let us pass over comparisons about the sick.

"In none of the other missions are the circumstances like those at San Gabriel. At none of them is there a pueblo or presidio so far distant and having so many people; and none has a worse road than our Mission. None has so many ranchos of white people and with so many souls. To this must be added that white families are said to be establishing themselves on the rancho of the deceased Dominguez. To this are to be aggregated the families of the soldiers who continually receive license to retire from the presidios of San Diego and Santa

Barbara, without counting the additions of births that follow every year in said ranchos and pueblos, as also the families that are wont to come from Lower California and settle down in this jurisdiction of San Gabriel. It is said that soon there will be many coming from Lower California, driven by hunger, to this territory.

"This Mission has four ranches of white people which are distant 4, 5, 6, and 10 leagues, and a pueblo 3 leagues distant. The first three ranches have large forests abounding in bears. In one of these the deaths this year reached seventy.

"These distances, together with the hospital crowded with from 300 to 400 habitually infirm of this Mission, brings it about that, when one missionary is alone in his Mission, he can not go to succor the infirm of the pueblo (of Los Angeles) and of the ranches, when they ask for it, at least not unless they bring them to the Mission. It frequently happens that one of the missionaries is in the fields which are three and one-half leagues distant from the Mission; or he is visiting the six sheep ranches, while the other missionary is in the cattle ranches, lying 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, and even 15 leagues from the Mission.[4] On other occasions it happens that one of the two missionaries goes to another mission in order to obtain relief for his spirit and to secure strength to enter anew upon his toil.[5]

"For these reasons it appears to us expedient to represent to the governor that, when any one falls sick, they should bring him to the Mission, in order to preclude exposing him

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[4] It might be objected that the priests should attend to the spiritual affairs. Precisely, and that is what they longed for; but who, then, would procure the means to feed and clothe the neophytes? The missionary had to take the lead in the field and in the stockyard, and had to oversee the mechanical departments. The settlers knew this very well; and therefore their demands bordered on the insolent and frequently were cruel, inasmuch as the missionary needed food and rest to sustain his health. The Los Angeles people should have demanded a priest for themselves and should have been willing to support him.

[5] To make his confession, as all Catholics are accustomed to do.

to the danger of dying without the Sacraments; for it may happen that one of the missionaries is absent; nor can the settlers always know when the Fathers are together at the Mission. Hence it was that, having discussed the difficult subject seriously, we have proposed that some arrangement be made to bring the sick to the Mission.

"In all these ranches there are numerous pagan Indians who would bring such white sick comfortably whenever justice would demand it; and even if the pagan Indians should be lacking, this Mission would supply Christians for that purpose, as also the maintenance and the servants for the sick who, owing to their poverty, might not have the means of reaching the Mission.

"Likewise, there are in the territory such as would make a litter, which could be for the common use of the settlers and rancheros, so that they might make use of it in their needs.

"It is true that in the beginning it would be somewhat hard for them and painful to adopt this plan, but then what Christian would not want to go to some trouble in order not to expose himself to being deprived of the Sacraments at the hour of death, and to enjoy at the same time the spiritual consolations which they would have at the Mission? We do not believe that any one is a true Christian who would want to expose himself thus and rob himself of the reception of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist in his last hour, of having a priest to hear his confession so many times during his grave infirmities, and of lacking the priest in his last moments, for the reason that he does not want to undergo a few inconveniences and difficulties."[6]

At all events, the missionaries concluded a note of March 17, 1810, to Fr. Tapis, they would, as before, exercise the ministry "in accordance with the rules of Moral Doctrine and of sound reason."[7]

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[6] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

[7] Document written by Fr. Zalvidea in *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum. See also *Archb. Arch.*, No. 354.

Fr. Tapis plainly saw that the Fathers were guiltless and, therefore, he let them alone at their arduous work.

The situation then and thereafter continued as before. Until a resident parish priest should be appointed at the expense of the colonists, the missionary Fathers, out of charity, would treat the Pueblo of Los Angeles and the outlying ranchos like a neighboring parish whose pastor had died or was absent. They would at once answer all urgent sick calls whenever possible; calls not urgent would be attended at the convenience of the missionaries of San Gabriel, and they would administer all other Sacraments at San Gabriel only. Such was the practice till 1832 when Los Angeles and the white settlers received the ministrations of a resident priest.

Fr. Francisco Dumetz, who had been ailing a long time unable to assist the two Fathers, passed away at Mission San Gabriel on February 6, 1811. He had come to California in 1771. For a detailed account of his missionary labors of thirty years we refer the reader to the biographical sketches in this volume.

Returning to the question of the disease prevalent at Mission San Gabriel, which resulted in a high rate of mortality, we find thoughtless critics disposed to blame the system under which the Missions were conducted. Bancroft, too, allows as much to be inferred. Alluding to the last decade of the eighteenth century, he writes: "The death-rate of 90 per cent of baptisms, and doubtless (?) 500 per cent (!!) and more (!!!) of birth, was not caused by any great epidemic in one year, for the deaths run quite evenly (?) as follows: 104, 84, 98, 65, 80, 87, 92, 96, 138, and 230."[8] The reader may compare these figures with those given in the tabular reports near the close of this volume.

Critics argue that the transplanting of the converts from their native wilds and roving habits to a limited locality, where they submitted to a sort of sedentary existence, unnerved the

[8] Bancroft, *California*, vol. i, 664.

SAN GABRIEL MISSION ABOUT 1830, THE EARLIEST DRAWING EXTANT
(The Proportions in the Church building and in the Round Indian Huts are manifestly Incorrect)

hardy Indians and induced maladies which decimated the neophyte population. There would be some truth in the assertion if it could be shown that in their savage state the Indians suffered from fewer or less grave diseases, and therefore lived longer than the Indians at the Missions. We cannot repeat here what missionaries and travelers have discovered regarding savage life. Those interested will learn all this from our larger works, from Bancroft, Hittéll and numerous other writers. The fact is that the savages, precisely because of their filthy habits and unwholesome, scant food passed out of existence more rapidly than the neophytes in the Missions where they succeeded in keeping the Indians from intercourse with outsiders, notably the Mexican soldiers. The Mission Indians, owing to their regular habits, nutritious food, reasonable labor, diversions and exercises, would have increased in numbers, had not the deadly disease pointed out by the two Fathers been communicated to the neophytes since the years 1775 and 1776. With what bitterness of heart must not Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea have informed Fr. Presidente Tapis that between 300 and 400 out of their 1,200 wards were infected with the malady which among decent people is named only in whispers of disgust. The Indians in their savage state, indeed, lived without any restraint whatever, and modesty was not known to them; yet the degrading *mal gálico* had not appeared among them before the arrival of the mongrel assortment of convicts and jailbirds inflicted on the Missions of California in the capacity of guards. San Gabriel was from the first singularly unfortunate in having to tolerate the presence of uniformed degenerates, who, instead of aiding, hampered and frequently destroyed the efforts of the missionaries, laboring to advance the neophytes in Christianity and civilization. The fault, of course, rested with the higher civil and military authorities in Mexico, who persisted in flooding California with the scum of society. The military authorities on the coast were also at fault inasmuch as they neglected to maintain military discipline. Had the culprits in uniform been severely

dealt with for any infraction of the moral order against the neophytes, the Indians would have observed that there are some things which degrade human beings, and must therefore be punished. The purity of the lives of the guards would have materially assisted the missionaries in leading their wards to respect purity among themselves. Now it was all the other way. Hence the ravages of unmentionable diseases which began to decimate the neophytes early in the nineteenth century.

As no medical experts nor suitable remedies could be secured, the missionaries endeavored to arrest the spread of the disease by segregating those infected and then treated them as well as they might. Thus the hospital for contagious diseases came into existence near the Mission. There Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea had to spend much of their time, with what success is not reported. Naturally this hospital was nothing like our institutions with all the facilities easy obtainable; nor may we suppose that the patients dwelt there, except such as were confined to their beds, the men in one apartment under the care of some trusty neophyte and the women in another quarter in charge of some Indian matrons, as in the case of the girls and unmarried women at the *monjério,* where the girls grew up unsullied till they married.

Here we have the real cause of the extraordinary mortality and of the final extinction of the Indians in Central and Southern California. Where they still exist in large numbers, it is due to the little intercourse their fathers had with the soldiers and colonists of the early days, and to the avoidance of the whiskey of the Americans. As the missionaries regarded the neophytes with the kindly eyes of solicitous fathers, we may imagine with what feelings they contemplated the havoc wrought upon their wards by the insatiable lust of morally corrupt intruders. Besides having to provide food, clothing, suitable labor, diversions and religious instructions for their dusky children of all ages, and answer long-distance calls from settlers, the missionaries were harrassed in various other ways. They had to have a watchful eye on the activities of the sur-

rounding pagans, who would have enjoyed nothing so much as the destruction of the Mission and the dispersion of the happy, care-free neophytes. Something of the kind was brewing near the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, and as usual some disgruntled neophytes had allowed themselves to prove unfaithful, as the following incident shows.

In November, 1810, Ensign Gabriel Moraga was ordered down to the Mission because a revolt seemed to be imminent. Exactly what took place could not be ascertained. A letter of Governor Arrillaga, dated December 31, 1810, and addressed to the comandante of the Santa Barbara presidio relates, however, that he had notified the comandante of the San Diego presidio that at San Gabriel there were imprisoned for complicity in a revolt twenty-one neophytes and twelve savages. They were to be sent to Santa Barbara and to receive the lash daily for nine days, and then to be assigned to labor on the public works. The commander of Santa Barbara replied under date of February 19, 1811, that he had received the prisoners —twenty-four neophytes of San Gabriel and sixteen savages of the neighboring rancherias—implicated in the contemplated revolt; that he had set them to work at the presidio; that he had chastised for nine days the runaway Indians (Cimarones), who had done damage at Mission San Buenaventura; and that he had employed them at the public works.[9]

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[9] *California Archives, Prov. Records,* vol. xi, 44-47. Bancroft Collection.

CHAPTER VII

Building Activities.—Effects of the Earthquake of 1812.—Wine and Fruits.—Indian Labor.—Laying First Stone for Church at Los Angeles.—Origin, Habits, Etc., of the Indians.—Sidelights on the Inhabitants of Los Angeles.

RETURNING to building activities, etc., we find that in 1811 two granaries of adobe were constructed, one measuring 62 varas in length and 8 varas in width, roofed with tules; the other was 42 varas long and 7 varas wide, but roofed with tiles.

In 1812, Fathers Miguel and Zalvidea report with regard to the church: "Everything exists as before, excepting a statue each of St. Joseph, St. Dominic, of our Father St. Francis, and a crucifix, which latter is for the main altar for the celebration of holy Mass; because all images were broken and fell to pieces from the violence of the most terrible earthquake which occurred on December 8 at sunrise. This earthquake damaged the church badly enough, and in the tower it made many cracks, so that finally the top of it, with its veleta or weathercock, fell down; made a crack also in the vestry, damaging the habitation of the Fathers and the work rooms of the Mission to such an extent that they threaten to collapse. It will require some labor to restore them. Furthermore, two granaries were constructed, each 42 varas long and 7 varas wide, both covered with tiles."

In 1813, a granary with a loft was erected. It measured 55 varas in length, 7 varas in width, and 7 varas in height; the walls were an adobe and a half thick. The roof was of tiles. This structure was jointed to one of the preceding year, and both together served as temporary church. The roof of the old portion threatens to collapse, and will have to be renovated when the material has been collected, though this may not be for some time owing to the lack of iron imple-

ments and owing to other circumstances that come together to delay the work. The statues of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Joseph, and a crucifix for the main altar have been renovated.

In 1814, a hospital was finished. This measured 114 varas or nearly 320 feet in length, and 12 varas or about 34 feet in width. It had 4 comfortable apartments for all cases of infirmities. To close the patio of the hospital there were constructed a room 100 varas or about 285 feet long and 6 varas wide; and a chapel for said hospital, 37 varas or about 104 feet long and 5¼ varas wide. The walls of the chapel as well as of the said room were of adobe and both were roofed with tiles. In the same year were acquired for the vestry three albs for ordinary days, four sets of corporals, six purificators, eight finger towels.

In an interesting letter of October 25, 1815, Fr. Zalvidea writes to Captain José de la Guerra of Santa Barbara: "In answer to your note of the twentieth of this month, I have to say that, after examining the fifteen volumes here on natural subjects, I have in none of them discovered anything about curenos.[1] It appears to me that one volume of the work is missing, and I believe that perhaps it is at San Fernando. I have already written to Fr. Munoz that, if it be there, he should send it to you. This year there were no pears; but there is wine; and if you wish, you may send a barrel that it may be filled for you, and also a keg for the Muscatel. Send the casks and let me know to whom I should deliver them."[2]

It seems that, urged by the governor and by De la Guerra, the Indians of the Mission were again in some emergency permitted to work for settlers for stipulated pay. On October 18, 1815, Fr. Zalvidea wrote to De la Guerra that his letter as well as the governor's had been received; and that the fifty

[1] The Diccionario Enciclopedico (Madrid, 1867) explains: "Nombre que dan en los almacenes de cacao a los Zurrones que contienen de una a seis arrobas."

[2] *De La Guerra Papers.*

Indians, asked for by the sergeant comisionado of Los Angeles, were on the way.[3]

On another occasion, apparently in 1815, Fr. Zalvidea informed De la Guerra from Mission San Fernando that he was there to make his Retreat.

The people of the little town of Los Angeles at last woke up to the necessity of possessing a church of their own. Since the founding of the pueblo, in 1781, they were obliged to attend divine services at Mission San Gabriel, nine or ten miles distant. In those days of wretched roads and screechy carts with clumsy wooden wheels, this was a severe hardship for the women and children. Accordingly, about the year 1810, as appears from the subjoined document, they applied for a permit from the church authorities. There it seems the matter rested till Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada was appointed to Mission San Gabriel. The Angeleños probably again urged their case and, finding encouragement, they began the work. Fr. Gil y Taboada then informed Fr. Presidente José Señan, the representative of the Bishop of Sonora, to whose diocese California belonged, as follows:

"Inasmuch as the neighboring pueblo of Los Angeles is under the jurisdiction of the vicariate,[4] and inasmuch as since the last three years the permit to build a church has been conceded, the plan has been realized to the extent that the ground has been broken for the foundations. Therefore it is the intention to lay the first stone on the fifteenth of this month of August, on which it celebrates its titular feast.[5] To this end, and as it pertains to Your Paternity to empower me, I turn to your goodness to deign to give me the license to bless and lay the said stone according to the Roman Ritual. God keep Your Paternity many years. San Gabriel, August 12, 1814. —Fr. Luis Gil.[6]

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[3] *De la Guerra Papers.*

[4] The Fr. Presidente was also the vicar-general of the Bishop.

[5] "El dia 15 del presente Agosto en que celebra a su Titular."

[6] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

The reply came immediately and read as follows: "The license of the king, our lord, the patron of all the churches in the Indies, being presumed, in virtue of the faculties granted to me as vicar of the Right Rev. Bishop of Sonora in the district of this province of Alta California, I concede to the Rev. Fr. Luis Gil the license which he solicits, to bless and lay the first stone of the church which they are about to erect in the pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula. He will proceed in accordance with the Rites which for this solemn blessing the Roman Ritual prescribes. God our Lord keep your Reverence many years. Mission San Buenaventura, August 13, 1814.—Fr. José Señan.[7]

We may suppose that the ceremonies of blessing and laying the cornerstone took place, although no record of the event has come down to us; but there the matter once more rested. Fr. Gil, in the following month, was transferred to Mission Purisima, after which interest in the project seems to have waned. One reason doubtless was the difficulty of collecting the funds. The Angeleños were not open-handed on that point, and, as will appear in time, they would never have secured a church if others had not espoused their cause.

In 1812 the Spanish government wanted to have full details regarding the Indians in California, and for that purpose drew up a list of thirty-six questions to be answered by the missionaries of the respective Missions. The Fathers of Mission San Gabriel in behalf of the natives of their missionary district replied to the questions, which for brevity's sake are omitted here because they can be readily inferred, as follows:

"1. The population of this Mission is composed only of Indians, but from the beginning, the Mission, out of charity and for want of a parish priest, is obliged to attend to a town, the inhabitants of which are known by the distinctive term of *de razón*. It is the head in civil matters of four ranchos of the same class of people. Likewise, it has the spiritual care of another rancho belonging to the jurisdiction of the presidio

[7] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

of San Diego, and of the families of six soldiers who guard the Mission. All the individuals that inhabit these places and whose number reaches 526, are of various castes. What they are we do not know, because, as we have said, they all claim to be *de razón.*

"2. With regard to the origin of our Indians, we judge that in the peregrination of the ancient Mexicans (i.e., of those who came from the north of the American continent), various families at the time of the transit remained, some on account of illness, others because they were exhausted or weary, and others without any other motive than to do as they pleased. That this may be so can be inferred, it seems, from their weak constitution and delicate complexion of the most of them; also because not even in the savage state did their population increase, according to the information which the oldest among them have given when they were questioned. With regard to the people of the other classes, it seems that they have the same origin as those of Mexico; for the first settlers came from Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Viscaya provinces. Some of them, nevertheless, have another origin for having mixed, now Spaniards now other castes, with Indian women of this peninsula (California).

"3. In this Mission they speak four distinct idioms corresponding to the four directions of its establishment. One is called Kokomcar; the other, Quiguitamcar; the third, Carbonanga; and the last, Sibamga.[8] Those who deal more with the people of the other classes, especially with the settlers of the town, speak Spanish, though these settlers commonly speak the Indian idiom also, and even better and more fluently than their own language which is the Spanish.

"4. Generally speaking, as must be supposed of the Indians of this Mission, the husband has love for his wife in so far as she can serve his convenience, so that when the woman becomes useless, he no longer values her. Such is not the

[8] Kroeber has Corbonamga and Sibanga, due to the error in the Bancroft copy, made in 1877 by his copyist, E. F. Murray.

INDIAN NEOPHYTE WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN FRONT OF THEIR REED HUT AFTER THE MISSION PERIOD

case with the children; for the parents love them to such a degree as can not be described; they are their little idols. This is the reason that the education which they receive is none at all; and hence it is that they as well as their fathers lack the inclination for work and for the mechanical arts. However, the missionaries not only take pains to direct them on the right road to justice, but likewise make them feel the necessity and utility of laboring, by applying them to the mechanical arts and to agriculture; and so by little and little the object is gained to which this care is directed. With respect to the other castes (settlers), and with regard to professing love for their wives, we have to say that in general they have due love; but as to the education of their children, a very few excepted, it may be stated that they behave in the same manner as the Indians in what touches civil matters; for since they are so inclined to idleness, they do not aspire to improve their fortune, but content themselves with cultivating some small field, which yields them only the annual sustenance; and even for these small fields very few apply their own arms, but avail themselves of the pagan Indians to do the tilling and to perform what may have to be done in their houses, so that the whole labor of their masters reduces itself to racing on horseback from one rancho to another. If the Superior Government with the wisdom that distinguishes it does not apply some obvious means for expelling idleness, the pueblo will never prosper, the lands of which are suitable for all branches of industry and very rich for agriculture.

"5. In our Indians has been and is observed indifference toward the people called *de Razón,* except one or the other who for particular reasons of his own convenience manifests some affectionate leaning toward them, and this during the time they are useful to him for the same ends.

"6. Already answered in No. 5.

"7. One or the other has an inclination to read and write; and the young are apt in drawing characters on the wall with carbon when they want to mimic us; but in their savage state

they have no characters whatever, and they do not know what it means to be able to read and write. Hence they only draw figures of animals on the trunks of trees.

"8. The means most obvious is that the government send male teachers for the primary classes for the boys, and female teachers for the girls. They ought to have the greatest care while in the school not to speak a word which is not Spanish, and not to spare any means that may help to success.

"9. Some affection between relatives is noticeable; while toward earthly things they manifest great indifference.

"10. According to our observations it seems that the Indians have some superstitions or rather some vain practices peculiar to recent converts; but by little and little we shall succeed in removing them.

"11. This Mission has the catechisms in the respective idioms of the nations or tribes of which its population is composed; but they are not approved by the Bishops, because not only is it difficult but well nigh impossible for the Bishops to find an interpreter who could revise them; for even composing them the missionaries found it a matter of much labor and patience. The Superiors of these Missions, however, have taken pains and time in this very grave matter.

"12. The reign of idolatry has not entirely ceased with some, but it is being expelled by force of labor, and more easily would it be extirpated if the old people and the young did not live together; for the former are the ones that mislead the young.

"13. The gain in the moral and political order may be inferred on learning that out of savage men the missionaries have succeeded in making rational and decent people and good Catholics; but it must be supposed that this came from God; that is, generally speaking; for there is not wanting sometimes the cockle among the good wheat.

"14. In their pagan state they make no marriage compact, but they unite after the manner of animals. The most they are accustomed to do consists in this that the man who desires

a wife gives three or four dollars worth of beads, some to the bride and some to the parents of the bride. If the gift is accepted, the two unite at once, but only for so long as they choose; that is to say, so long as they are satisfied or have no quarrel or do not meet another that pleases them more; for they do not recognize the permanence or *individua vitae consuetudo* which matrimony demands. When they are well instructed, however, and sufficiently enlightened by the missionary on matrimony and on the sacramental nature of the contract, they celebrate the compact in conformity with the Rite of the Church; and although there are not wanting some who secretly leave their lawful wife and take another, following the maxims of paganism, we succeed in amending them by applying sometimes oil and at other times wine (i.e., persuasion and severity), but all with much patience.

"15. They cure all their infirmities by exposing themselves passively to the warmth of the sun and of the fire. Some use the bark of the live-oak for every variety of wounds. They have an equivalent for bleeding. It consists in cutting one's self with a sharp stone or flint. The emetic which they frequently use is water mixed with much salt. The medicines are various herbs, the names of which we do not know. Our neophytes do not use the hot water baths nor any other baths, save that of cold water after they have perspired profusely in the sweathouse; but this is not indulged exactly as a remedy for their ills but rather for pleasure and from custom. The infirmities that prevail are venereal diseases, consumption, and dysentry of blood. The last named belongs to a certain season, for when winter sets in, then appears also this enemy of Indian nature, and it remains till the beginning of summer. The number of deaths is double that of the births.

"16. In the savage state, during the season of wild fruits, and in the Christian state, during the season of planting and harvesting our grain, the name of an herb is given to each season, or the name of some peculiar grain or seed belonging to that time of the year. For instance, to winter time when

the harvest of the acorn is concluded and also the planting of wheat; to the summer when the maguey plant matures, which they call *Aco,* and the planting of corn; to the summer when Pinones mature and when the wheat is threshed; to the fall when they harvest and gather a kind of resinous sweet, which they call *Guaatta,* and when the *Durainos* ripen. They never had a calendar; but they are guided solely by the moon, the course of which they count as months, although they do not give names that distinguish one from the other. Nor do they regulate the day by hours. When they feel that way, they go hunting and return toward evening; and if not, they give themselves the whole day to idleness. After they have become Christians, however, the time is distributed in such a manner that with much ease they labor five hours during the whole winter and six or seven hours in summer.

"17. The Mission gives them sufficient time so that they have three meals of corn, wheat, beans, and meat a day. Likewise, in their respective seasons is given them an abundance of cheese, milk, melons, peaches, and all the other kinds of Spanish fruits peculiar to each season.

"18. As savages frequently, and also as Christians, they use the *Pespivata,* which is a mixture of tobacco, wild lime, and water, and sometimes, but rarely also Orines (urine). They prepare a drink from the herb they call *Manit,* which they pound and mix with water. They also use other beverages, like aguardiente (whiskey) and wine, of which they take all they can furtively acquire. These are very noxious to their health and weak constitution.

"19. These Indians have never adored the planets mentioned.

"20. Notwithstanding that these Indians generally know nothing of their origin (see Nos. 10 and 12), there was not wanting one or the other who declared that he had knowledge of the first Indian settler coming from the north, whence they were led to this country by a *capitan-general,* who exists on an island and to whom they attribute neither beginning nor end. It is he who distributed to each tribe its territory.

NEOPHYTE WOMEN CRUSHING BOILED CORN, AND THEN ON THE METATE (CURVED STONE) PREPARING IT FOR TORTILLAS (PANCAKES). OBSERVE THE FORMATION OF HUTS STILL TO BE SEEN IN DISTANT PLACES

"21. No other ceremonies for the dead has been observed than the cutting of their hair by the mourners. They throw beads into the air, utter loud nocturnal cries during the first three days of mourning, place with the body of the dead some seeds, and, if he had any special office, put with the body that instrument or iron implement of his employment. Some observe three or four days of fasting; but these, as well as those who do not fast, take care not to remember the dead any longer. In the savage state, when a *capitan* dies, they invite the nearest related rancherias, even though they be very distant, and have a great feast which consists chiefly of dancing and eating. Afterwards they bury the body, or they burn it and bury the ashes. The dance continues as well as the banquet for the space of three days, after which the deceased is entirely forgotten.

"22. They know no other fidelity than that which is actuated by fear of punishment or by the superiority of one of the contracting parties.

"23. Whenever they tell the truth, they think that some slight damage may result to them, or that they may lose something good. They conceal it in every way; but in this matter they have no other motive than their own convenience.

"24. As to games, stealing, and impurity. This last-named has permeated them to the very marrow with venereal malady. The consequence is that many children at birth already manifest the only patrimony which their parents give them. Hence it is that of four born, three die in the first and second year of their age; and that of the rest who survive, the most reach the age of twenty-five. If the government does not provide doctors and medicines, *California will be exhausted of its Indian inhabitants.* (This statement was made in 1814).

"25. Some make mutual contracts, but only by making a loan to persons whom they know will have to pay. Likewise, they barter or exchange anything, frequently even their wives, and then they marry others, but this abuse is being done away with by exhortation and correction.

"26. Inasmuch as at present they live in community, and the

missionaries care for their neophytes as a natural father cares for his children, there is nothing to be said on this point (i.e., harvest customs).

"27. Although exteriorly they manifest neither anger nor cruelty, but a rather cold nature, their operations give one to understand that they do not lack anger and cruelty. The punishments which they inflict on their wives are beating with sticks, even on the head, and kicks in the stomach, even when the women are pregnant. For their children, however, it is quite different, as was intimated in number four.

"28. On this point we have nothing to say, because no such sacrificial offerings have come to our notice (i.e., human sacrifices).

"29. The reply is the same as in the preceding number regarding sacrifices; and as to burials, we refer to what has been said under number 21.

"30. All Pagan Indians live in the most abject poverty. The same is to be said of the other castes (i.e., settlers), save one or the other who cultivates vineyards, raises grain, and is engaged in commerce; and those in our jurisdiction do not exceed six who live in some comfort.

"31. All are alike, as said in number 26. Hence no vexation is suffered by them. Even the indispensable chastisements they suffer are moderate, and inflicted by direction of the missionaries and in their presence.

"32. In the pueblo and ranchos of the other classes, pagans, men as well as women, serve as farm laborers, cooks, water carriers, and in other domestic work. This is one of the most potent causes why the people, calling themselves *de Razón,* are so addicted to idleness. As the pagans labor for one-half or one-third of the product, they are constantly in the service of their masters during the time of planting and harvesting, while the masters, some excepted, never put their hand to the plow or to the sickle. Hence there is the other drawback, that the adult Indians delay having themselves baptized, and since in the service of their masters they may follow their notions and pagan habits. This liberty by which they forfeit

Christianity, inspires them with a great disaffection for Christianity. The only thing we gain is baptizing the children *in articulo mortis;* and some also in their good health, partially through the frequent visits which the missionaries make and partially through the good assistance which some of the masters and their parents offer for that purpose.

"33. In their savage state, they are not acquainted with any other musical instrument than a whistle made from the bone of the foreleg of the deer, and also a wooden fife. They use both in their dances for calling the people together. As Christians the neophytes have learned all our instruments as well wind as string instruments. Some of the neophytes manifest an inclination and fondness for them, but generally they prefer their own. Their songs are very pathetic and more adapted to excite melancholy than merriment, but they observe time most exactly, and although all sing at the same time, no one gets lost nor gets out of tune.

"34. To all the clauses of this question we answer negatively (i.e., these Indians never had any men distinguished for arts or literature).

"35. In their pagan state, none; but in Christianity, by dint of continual labor, they have succeeded in conceiving some, though owing to their dull talent, confused idea of eternity, and they say that they believe in the last things and that there is an eternity.

"36. Although they are very much addicted to nudity, we make every effort to have them go decently covered. The dress which for the present is given for that purpose is the frazada or blanket, a short tunic which we call *Coton,* and a narrow cloth which serves as covering and which we call *taparabo* or breechcloth[9] for the men; for the women, a blanket, tunic, and a skirt.—San Gabriel, June 28, 1814. Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada, Fr. José Maria Zalvidea."[10]

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[9] The men were very much averse to wearing trousers.

[10] *Sta. Barb. Arch.,* ad annum. See for the questions to the answers *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER VIII

Building Operations.—Additions to the Church Goods and Field Implements.—Expedition Against the Mojaves.—The Deadly Mal Gálico.—Father Zalvidea Infirm and Distressed.—San Bernardino Rancho.—Willing Indians.—Controversies About Land.—Greedy and Unscrupulous Settlers.—The Fathers Uphold the Rights of Their Wards.—Governor Pablo de Solá.—No Blessings on Land Wrested from the Neophytes.—A Drastic Punishment.

BRISK activity prevailed throughout these years in all the mechanical departments of the Mission. Like all the missionary establishments, San Gabriel resembled a huge beehive of industry, but no records of the products of the various shops were reported because royal orders demanded no accounts on mechanical arts, wherefore details in that line can not be given. Since about everything that the neophytes wore and consumed, not to speak of the military demands, was Mission product, the amount of what was manufactured may be guessed when it is considered that the neophyte population in 1813 comprised 1,600 souls. Hides and tallow also were produced on a large scale, and much of it exported; but here, too, figures are not available. On the agricultural products, however, and on live stock, the tables near the end of the volume will prove very illuminating.

With regard to building activities, on the other hand, the Fathers reported faithfully year for year, as also on what was secured for church purposes. That much will be repeated here, though it may seem tedious reading matter.

In 1816, two buildings were put up of adobe and roofed with tiles. One of these was to serve as a mill. Its dimensions were 18¾ varas or about 53 feet in length, and 9¼ varas or about 26 feet in width. The other structure was intended for a smithy. It measured 52 feet in length and nearly 19 feet in width.

For the vestry were added two surplices, fourteen amices, a set of corporals, three manteles, two finger towels, one frontal of purple silk brocade.

For the field and the house, the additions were an iron caldron, fifty pickaxes, twenty-five hatchets, sixty plowshares, twenty pairs of spurs, eighteen bridles, etc.

THE WATER-POWER MILL AS IT STANDS NOW

In 1817, a basin was built for the water of the fountain, two drainage sewers, one of which had a stone basin in the center of the patio that was made in the quarters for the girls and single women, and surrounded with adobes. It measures sixty-seven by fifty varas.

In the sacristy were added six red cassocks and eight surplices for the acolytes.

Additions for the field and house were thirty pickaxes, twenty hatchets, twelve bridles, twenty-four pairs of spurs, eight dozen shears for wool shearing, twenty small kettles for the kitchen as also four medium-sized kettles.

In 1818, the additions for the vestry were one amice and one palio. For the field, twenty pickaxes, twenty-five hatchets,

seventeen bridles, twenty-eight pairs of spurs, and forty plow-points were obtained.

On May 14, 1818, Fr. Nuez wrote to De la Guerra: "Fr. Zalvidea has animated himself to celebrate holy Mass since the second day of Easter. Thanks be to God! They are now finishing our little cart, which is so poorly adorned that any blind man can see it and it may be the admiration of the whole world." As both Fathers were ailing, this cart was constructed, though fully in keeping with poverty, as Fr. Nuez humorously intimates, so that they might be able the better to visit the sick who lived at a distance from the Mission as also those in the various Mission ranchos.

A significant item is furnished by the Fr. Comisário Prefecto, Mariano Payeras, in his Biennial Report, dated May 4, 1819, to the government for the years 1817 to 1819. "The Missions of San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Luis Rey," he writes, "have built chapels in their hospitals, in order to administer the sacraments there to the sick more conveniently. I say hospitals, because, as the Fathers observed that the majority of the Indians were dying exceedingly fast from dysentry and the *gálico,* they took energetic steps to arrest the rapid spread of such a pernicious malady by erecting in many of them (missions) said hospitals in proportion to their knowledge and means, and also by procuring such alleviation as was available. In spite of all this, we see with sorrow that the fruit does not correspond to our hopes."[1] Contact with corrupt soldiers was having its deadly effects. Before the advent of immoral soldiers, as was already noted, the Indians knew nothing of the vile disease.

The year 1819 brought a notable diversion. After a High Mass celebrated by Fr. José Barona of Mission San Juan Capistrano on Monday, November 22, in honor of Our Lady of Pilár and of St. Gabriel, Archangel, for the success of the undertaking, Fr. Joaquin Nuez writes in his *Diário:* An

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[1] *Sta. Barb. Arch.,* ad annum.

expedition set out from Mission San Gabriel to punish murderous Mohave savages. It was in command of Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga of Santa Barbara, and consisted of thirty-five cavalrymen, fifteen infantrymen, four artillerymen with a cannon, and a large number of neophyte Indians. Fr. Nuez accompanied the troops as chaplain. On November 27, about forty-two leagues from the Mission, the soldiers discovered the remains of four neophytes from San Gabriel, of three from Mission San Fernando, and of some pagan Indians, who had likewise been murdered by the Mohaves. Next day, it was the first Sunday in Advent, Fr. Nuez sang a High Mass and preached the sermon. The funeral ceremonies were then held for the dead. The bodies of the victims were interred under a large cross which the Rev. Chaplain Nuez had blessed that morning. The place thereafter was known as *Las Animas Benditas de Atongaibit.*

On November 30, the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, it being a holyday of obligation, Fr. Nuez celebrated holy Mass at *San Hilário de Cacaumeat.* On Sunday, December 5, he celebrated holy Mass and preached the sermon at the same place. Likewise, at San Hilário on December 8, the feast of Purisima Concepcion. On Sunday, December 12, however, Fr. Nuez celebrated holy Mass and preached at a place called *Santisima Trinidad,* six and one-half leagues from *Cucamonga.*

In the meantime, December 2, leaving the main body with Fr. Nuez at a place named San Joaquin and Santa Ana, Lieutenant Moraga with ten soldiers and four colonists went ahead to overtake the murderous savages. Ere long, however, he found that for the lack of grass and water the horses could not overtake the Mohaves. Moraga and his men, therefore, returned to the camp at San Hilário. On December 7 the return march began, and at noon December 14, all were welcomed back to Mission San Gabriel.

The route taken by the expedition ran as follows, according to the journal of Fr. Nuez: San Gabriel to La Puente, four leagues; thence to Cucamonga, or Nuestra Señora del Pilár,

eight leagues; thence to El Cajon de San Gabriel de Amuscopiabit, nine leagues; thence to Guadalupe de Guapiabit, nine and one-half leagues; thence to Las Animas Benditas, eleven and one-half leagues; thence to Jesus de Topipabit, eight leagues; thence to San Hilário de Cacaumeat, three leagues; thence to San Miguel de Sisuguina, four leagues; thence to San Joaquin y Santa Ana de Angayaba, fourteen and one-half leagues; thence back to the Mission.[2]

In the same year of 1819 the vestry was enriched with an embroidered alb, an amice, and a precious vial of silver for the administration of Extreme Unction.

For the field were procured twenty-eight pickaxes, thirty hatchets, twenty bridles, thirty-two pairs of spurs, and forty-five plow points. In this year, too, a hennery was constructed and above it a pigeon roost was built.

Governor Sola, writing to Fr. Payeras on October 16, 1819, says: "I rejoiced on hearing that on the day of our Illustrious Patriarch St. Francis there was a High Mass and a sermon at San Gabriel."[3] This was nothing unusual by any means, however.

In 1820, on April 23, Fr. Zalvidea wrote to Fr. Payeras from San Gabriel: "Fr. Joaquin (Nuez) continues troubled with his diseases; and today (Sunday) he was not able to say holy Mass. He is thinking of going in a short time to the sierras in order to take the baths of Agua Caliente; he will stay there at least fifteen days. I am heavy of heart, to say nothing of my debilities. Many fail to comply with their Easter duties, Indians as well as those *de razón*."[4]

In the same year, 1820 (the letter bears no date) Governor Solá gave orders that Anastasia Zuñiga should be punished for her repeated scandals in the following manner: "Let her

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[2] Fr. Nuez, *Diário, Santa Barbara Arch.; The Missions,* vol. iii, pp. 37-39.

[3] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[4] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

be taken to Mission San Gabriel on the first feast day. Her hair shall be clipped and one eye-brow shaved off. In this state and with her face uncovered, she shall be exposed to the public at the time of holy Mass; and afterwards she shall be placed in the prison of the presidio for six months."[5]

Fathers Zalvidea and Nuez, on June 9, 1820, write to Fr. Payeras: "In confirmation of what our Fr. Comisário insinuated as to the rancho of this Mission, which is called San Bernardino, we have to say that with a simple invitation, which we extended to the pagans on the last day of May to come and help in the planting which was being done at said rancho for the purpose of pleasing, attracting, and winning the affection of the pagans for Christianity, in less than one month about one thousand souls have come together. They are helping to plant and they perform other labors useful for their maintenance and subsistence."[6]

In the same year, two mills were commenced, one a water-mill for grinding flour, and the other for making oil. Both are progressing, the report says.

To the sacristy, during 1820, were added a precious chasuble of gold brocade, worked in red and purple; two chalises of silver and gold-plated; a ciborium of silver and gold-plated; two missals of the Order; and fourteen pairs of cruets with their plates.

The field received twenty-two pickaxes, thirty-two hatchets, eighteen bridles, twenty-six pairs of spurs, and forty-three plow points.

The year is also noted for controversies between the Mission and settlers about lands which the latter coveted, but which the neophytes had utilized and claimed. We have already adverted to the fact that large tracts of land lay waste which could have been rendered productive in the same way that the neophytes under the directions of the Fathers made land to

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[5] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, vol. xlix, p. 775.

[6] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

yield rich harvests. That required industry, however, which the settlers were not fond of displaying. Hence the disputes of which the following are specimens:

On March 20, 1820, Fr. Zalvidea wrote from Los Angeles to Governor Solá: "A dispute having been the consequence of the boundaries of Mission San Gabriel and of the Los Angeles Pueblo, we have agreed to ask Your Honor for permission to appoint an equal number of witnesses of probity, conscience, and knowledge, that they should declare under oath what lands the said Mission and said Pueblo possessed; and that in view of the decision given by the majority of the witnesses, the boundaries of the one and the other party may be placed on the sites with the understanding that the cattle and horses of the one and of the other do not transgress the limits.—Fr. Zalvidea."[7]

A week later Fr. Zalvidea wrote from San Gabriel to Governor Solá: "The preceding document I compiled at Los Angeles Pueblo, and we are in agreement, the Pueblo and the Fathers of the Mission; and it is transmitted to you on the first occasion; but soon after we agreed, Alcalde Anastasio Avila came to me saying that they would not longer abide by the agreement. The motives for not conforming in a matter so just (in my opinion) may be that the *vecinos* Avilas, Antonio Maria Lugo, uncle of the comisionado, and other individuals have in those tracts of this Mission many horses, mares, and cows. All this I thought well to communicate to Your Honor. —Mission San Gabriel, March 27, 1820."[8]

On the same day, Fathers Zalvidea and Nuez jointly addressed Governor Solá as follows: "In the place called Las Lagunas and its vicinity belonging to the said Mission (San Gabriel), which for the last forty years, since the Mission possessed it, first for the cattle and later for the sheep, oxen, and mares, there are at present more than 800 head of horses

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[7] *Cal. Arch., Dept. Rec.*, vol. v, p. 190.

[8] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

SAN GABRIEL MISSION CHURCH. ONE OF THE EARLIEST MODERN ENGRAVINGS

belonging to the pueblo of Los Angeles. In consideration of the year being so poor in water, and that those animals destroy the pasture which the sheep herds of the Mission need, we have brought it to the attention of the comisionado of the pueblo of Los Angeles on the fifteenth of March of the present year, that they should remove the horses of the pueblo from these lands belonging to the Mission; but until now he has taken no steps whatever to that effect.

"Likewise, other tracts of land belonging to the Mission and where the sheep of the Mission are pastured, are overrun by the horses of the Rancho of Nieto. In another part toward the sierra, where, besides the lands being very sterile, the Mission can not place the sheep for many reasons. First, because they would be exposed to the robbing pagans and runaways, when the shepherds were ill; secondly, because the territory of the sierra is very thorny, and there is much half burnt wood, so that the sheep lose all their wool, and there would be none to shear; thirdly, because the lambs would be stolen by the savages and runaways whenever they desired.

"Therefore, if no serious steps are taken so that the horses of the pueblo, of the Rancho of the deceased Dominguez and of Nieto do not hurt the lands where the sheep of the Mission pasture, it is very probable that this year will be without sheep, because this year water is very scarce.

"This Mission has 1,600 and more souls and some hundred pagans, who are being prepared for holy Baptism. They are to be admitted on the patronal feast of Your Honor. So penetrated with confidence, they hope from your goodness that you will dictate the steps most needed, so that they may not find themselves in the hard predicament of having to go entirely naked.

"We make known to Your Honor that the pueblo of Los Angeles has a good place and more near to it than Las Lagunas, where formerly its horses used to be collected. The pueblo has more land than in years past, since it aggregated a large stretch of land that belonged to the Rancho of the deceased

Dominguez; and, on the other hand, it has fewer herds than in past years. Finally we bring to the notice of Your Honor that the Rancho of the deceased Dominguez possesses a tract sufficient to maintain more than 10,000 head of horses and some thousands of cattle adjacent to that pueblo. In consequence of this, if the pueblo of Los Angeles needs more land, let them ask for what belongs to some individuals and not for what is in peaceful possession of the natives for the last forty years of this Mission, whom the laws of our king so much favor, and whose land is needed for sheep, which is of primary necessity for clothing for them as well as for the troops of his Catholic Majesty.—Mission San Gabriel, March 27, 1820. Fr. José Maria Zalvidea. Fr. Joaquin Pasqual Nuez."[9]

To these representations Governor Solá replied on April 6, 1820: "On one and the same day I have received the memorial of Your Reverence of the 27th of last month, an official letter, and a letter of the 20th of the same month, as also another memorial of March 22, which is signed by Anastasio Avila, Antonio Ignacio Avila, and Santiago Rúbio, alcalde and regidores of the Pueblo of Our Lady of Los Angeles, in which they petition me in the name of all the settlers that the cattle be removed which the Mission has introduced on the tract of the undersigned of the community of settlers, which tract at the time when the deceased Felipe Goecoychea was comandante of the presidio of Santa Barbara, and Sergeant Xavier Alvarado comisionado, the said Señor Goecoychea commanded the removal of the cattle of Mission San Gabriel which had been introduced in the place called Las Lagunas. This is the same that Your Reverence as well as the settlers solicit, each party for itself, as its own. The allegation in favor of the Mission is that it has been in possession for the last forty years. The alcalde and regidores, on the other hand, claim what has been said, besides other reasons. Desirous, so far as I am concerned, of extending justice to both parties, I have resolved for the present that Your Reverence name three individuals

[9] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

in whom you trust, and there shall be as many others for the side of the settlers, in order to investigate juridically before Lieutenant Francisco M. Ruiz, the comandante of the presidio of San Diego. I am sending him the order today that he should proceed to the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles to be witness to these proceedings. He is also at once to institute a general slaughter of the horses found in the limits of the Pueblo, of the Ranchos of Nieto and Dominguez, and of other points, in order to exterminate them, as I have already commanded should be done annually since the year 1817. All ought to concur in this work, even the vaqueros of the Mission; and until I receive circumstantial information of what has been done through said official, desirous on my part that the damages be avoided, which both petitioners tell me might be suffered by them for lack of pastures, both parties may avail themselves provisionally of those (horses) that are in the said ranchos as well as in the locality of Las Lagunas.

"It would be very pleasing to me if, conformably to what is commanded by our wise legislators, the limits that pertain to each community could be arranged and designated. As a consequence of such transaction and of any other that would be for the utility of the inhabitants of this province under my command, all would find me very agreeable. This is what I have to say regarding your memorial and letter. God keep Your Reverence many years.—Monterey, April 6, 1820. Pablo Vicente de Solá."[10]

Another settler, hungry for land belonging to the Indians, was Desiderio Ibarra, who applied to the governor for the tract of land extending from Los Coyotes to the Rio de Santa Ana. Solá directed the Fathers of Mission San Gabriel and San Juan Capistrano to report on the subject what they thought expedient. Likewise Antonio Yorba in a separate paper was to explain what he thought opportune. In reply the Fathers wrote: "In answer to what we are commanded we have to say in the first place that his mother is not a widow, as José

10 *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

Desiderio Ibarra advances as a foundation for his solicitude In the second place, it is strange that the said Ibarra has the audacity to want to take from the Christian Indians of this Mission a site which has always belonged to them and which they have needed to maintain both some flocks of sheep and the herds of cows. Therefore they can in no way agree that Desiderio Ibarra establish himself and have his goods on the site described.

"With regard to the personal affairs of the missionary Fathers of Mission San Gabriel, we have to say to Your Honor with all due respect that we are in a Mission of 1,600 Christian Indian souls, distributed through necessity in fifteen ranches at various distances, whose care in spiritual and temporal matters is entrusted to us. In addition to this, there are in our care in spiritual affairs 800 souls of people *de razón,* distributed in one pueblo and four ranches at distances of three, four, and twelve leagues, whom we are bound to visit and give spiritual aids at any hour they ask for it.

"Furthermore, there are in our charge a reduction of hundreds of pagan Indians who live in their villages. In virtue of the faculties which the Supreme Head of the Church and our Catholic king concede to us, we are free to deliver ourselves from such a heavy burden and we may sever our connections with our College of San Fernando and enjoy the rest and the privileges which the Bull of Pope Pius, still in full force, grants us.

"Therefore, we represent to Your Honor that, if our kindness is abused, and it is intended to load more burdens on us than we already suffer voluntarily, we have decided to abandon everything and make use of our rights. We are convinced of the prudence and eminent justice of Your Honor, that during your term of office you will not permit a heavier load to be placed on the Fathers of Mission San Gabriel than they are bearing; but we know that Your Honor has sent in your resignation and that in a short time your successor is expected. Hence we have made the declaration which may serve for the information of the new governor.—Mission San Gabriel,

April 6, 1820. Fr. José Maria Zalvidea. Fr. Joaquin Pasqual Nuez."[11]

Fr. Zalvidea had already served in California much longer than the required ten years. He was therefore entitled to retire to his College. Fr. Nuez would leave on the expiration of his term. Both were in ill health. It must not be supposed that these zealous men, willing to undergo any sacrifice for the Indians, acted out of petulance and chagrin. The heartless demand of paisano and Mexican greed for land that belonged to the Indians and that was needed for their maintenance, was but the last straw. Since 1812, in common with the other Missions, San Gabriel had to work its neophytes overtime in order to satisfy the endless demands of the whole military fabric of California for supplies of every description. Frequently goods were demanded of them which they could not possibly produce; wherefore they had to purchase them from merchants and skippers in exchange for grain, hides, or tallow. In payment for these supplies delivered to the garrisons, the Missions would receive drafts on the treasury of Mexico, which were but so many worthless scraps of paper, since nothing could be realized on them. In addition, greedy paisanos and Mexican immigrants coveted much of the Mission lands, and not at all the inferior portions at that, which very lands produced the provisions and supplies demanded by the indolent soldiery. Here the Fathers, as legal guardians of their Indian wards, took a firm stand. Hence the extensive correspondence on the subject. It clearly demonstrates that when it came to questions of law and justice, the friars were more than a match for the adversaries of the Missions; that they were entirely unselfish and self-sacrificing; that they alone endeavored to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the helpless Indians, under circumstances which tried the stoutest heart and taxed the most capable mind. It would be tedious to repeat the account of this phase of mission life at each of the establishments. One more of Fr. Zalvidea's

[11] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

letters, however, deserves to find a place here, because it shows to what length paisano greed dared to go and how careful the Father was that his wards should not be defrauded.

Writing under date of August 25, 1824, to the alcalde of Los Angeles, Don Encarnacion Urquidez, Fr. Zalvidea says: "In reply to your official letter of August 25 of the present year, in which you tell me that the land bequeathed to the heirs of the late Manuel Nieto is going to be measured, because the governor has so disposed, we missionary Fathers of Mission San Gabriel have to say, that in the year 1815, by order of acting Governor José Argüello, this tract of land was given to this Mission: the valley of the Rio San Gabriel (Vegueria de Rio de San Gabriel) with its tributaries, together with the Cañada Verde and Los Coyotes. From the same governor, Juan José Nieto, head of the Rancho de Santa Gertrudis, received the order that in no way should the cattle of Mission San Gabriel be prevented from pasturing in the localities named. You also have been notified to the same effect, as you can learn from the said Juan José Nieto.

"Therefore, in no manner whatever, since the time that the Mission is in possession of the localities named, through the disposition of the government, did those sites named belong to the lands of the Rancho de Nietos. Hence you can not act under the order of the governor; and the Mission will hold you responsible if you attempt to survey the said lands, that is to say: the Valley of the Rio de San Gabriel with its tributaries along with the Cañada Verde and Los Coyotes. In order that this be in evidence and no ignorance be alleged, I have signed at Mission San Gabriel on August 25, 1824.—Fr. José Maria Zalvidea."[12]

What the result of Captain Ruiz's examination was or what steps Solá took in consequence, we are unable to say. It would seem that the persistence of the insatiable settlers named in the end accomplished what they wanted. From Bancroft we learn that in 1796 a part of the land which Gov-

[12] *De la Guerra Papers*, ad annum.

ernor Fages in 1784 had allowed Nieto to occupy was taken from him, because the Fathers of San Gabriel declared it was needed by the Mission,[13] but the Rancho of Santa Gertrudis was regranted to Nieto in 1834. The Rancho of San Rafael allowed occupation in 1784, was in 1830 likewise granted to Verdugo.[14] "Santa Gertrudis or Los Nietos," says the lawyer-historian Theodore Hittéll,[15] contained over 300,000 acres or about sixty-eight square leagues." Here one family was granted more land than was occupied by the 1,600 Indians of Mission San Gabriel. What could Nieto do with so much land? Could he claim that he needed it? Yet we do not find Hittéll nor any of the Mission enemies utter a word of disapproval of the monstrous transaction. On the contrary, they persist in declaring that the missionaries claimed all the land from one Mission to another along the whole coast so that settlers could not obtain enough land to make a living! Verdugo's grant of San Rafael Rancho comprised about 34,000 acres or eight square leagues! How could he prove that he needed it? It was all wrested from the native owners of the soil against their protests. It is no wonder that those many acres of land did not remain with the families named. "Very few of the Californians," Hittéll notes,[15] "notwithstanding their principalities in the shape of land, were enriched by them," which is especially true of "the brothers Pio and Andrés Pico to whom over 532,000 acres were confirmed."[17]

Occasionally drastic measures were adopted to impress the carnally inclined class of settlers or soldiers inflicted on California by the authorities in Mexico. Neophytes could see that what the missionaries taught them on the subject of moral purity applied just as well to the people of another race surrounding them.

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13 Bancroft, *California,* vol. i, p. 612; *The Missions,* vol. iii, p. 645.

14 Bancroft, vol. ii, p. 663.

15 Hittéll, *California,* vol. ii, p. 748.

16 Hittéll, vol. ii, p. 753.

17 Hittéll, vol. ii, p. 753.

Under date of May 25, 1821, Governor Solá wrote to Captain José Darío Argüello of Santa Barbara: "Through information given me by Lieutenant José Estudillo, under date of April 21, I am made acquainted with the occurrences at the Rancho between Antonio Albitre and Maria Eustaquia de la Cruz and between the same and Patricia Rodriguez. Wherefore, you will see that the women have their hair shaved off with a razor, and that on the first feast day they be placed with heads uncovered at the front door of the church and then near the sanctuary in the church, after speaking with the Rev. Missionaries in my name to whom I am writing this day for the same purpose. Afterwards they shall suffer six months in the *monjério* (girls' quarters) of the Mission. With regard to Antonio Albitre, you will despatch him to his presidio (Monterey), where I have sentenced him to one year imprisonment.[18] We do not believe that the women were exposed to the view of the congregation during divine service. The Fathers will have told the governor that St. Paul had something to say on the subject, and that such a spectacle was indecent inside a church, not to mention the distraction to the people who came to church to pray, but not to be diverted.

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[18] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Indexes,* vol. vii, p. 136.

CHAPTER IX

Difficulties Encountered in Building a Church at Los Angeles.—Shiftless Inhabitants.—Fr. Nuez's Lucid Letter.—Fathers Nuez and Zalvidea Weary.—Fr. Mariano Payeras's Beautiful Appeal in Behalf of the Church at Los Angeles.—Contributions from Various Missions.—Governor Solá.—The Missions Sustain the Whole Civil and Military Government of California.—Supplies Furnished by Mission San Gabriel, and How They Were Paid.—The Shiftless Angeleños Allow the Poor Neophytes to Build a Church.—Who Deserves the Credit?—The Dedication.—The Pastors.

IN a previous chapter it was related that the ecclesiastical authorities had given permission to lay the cornerstone for a church in the city of Los Angeles, on August 14, 1814. No record of the event, if it took place at all, is extant. It seems, however, that the people there succeeded in collecting the material; whereupon the work stopped, for reasons that are set forth in a letter of Fr. Nuez, dated Wednesday, July 19, 1815, and addressed to Don José de la Guerra of Santa Barbara. The letter reads thus:

"Since last Sunday, the master builder José Antonio has left the Mission. I proposed to Sergeant Guillermo (of Los Angeles) that they should procure two other experts for the work on the church. I see, if they do not begin the work, it will not be finished by the year of Doom. It is a pity, indeed, for there is plenty of material. The master went to the pueblo, and demanded six reáles (75 cents) for each day's labor, and a barrel of wine every three months[1] together with board. It seems to me that this is not a high wage. I believe that the large majority of the population failed to recognize the duty of facilitating the work of construction. I do not think an Indian capable of being master builder of such a work as a church, although it seems very simple.

[1] In those days, as in Spain, France, Italy still, wine took the place of tea or coffee.

Besides, this man is needed to prepare the lumber for the doors, windows, etc.—Fr. Joaquin Nuez."[2]

That Fr. Nuez, the worthy companion of Fr. Zalvidea, was not enamored of the life the missionaries had to lead at San Gabriel with such unappreciative neighbors as the Angeleños to look after, may be inferred from a letter addressed March 29, 1821, to Don José de la Guerra of Santa Barbara, who acted as the depositary for the friars. "In truth," he wrote, "I confess that, if I could retire to a solitary place and live as a hermit, I would do so most cheerfully, although I am not sorry for being a friar, but rather glory in it." The poor sufferer, then but nine months from death's door, now remembered his companion, who was also ailing, and wrote that De la Guera in his kindness should provide Fr. Zalvidea with a quantity of snuff tobacco, which was about the only diversion he appeared to allow himself.[3] He himself wrote to De la Guerra on January 19, 1822: "I received your welcome letter and my departed and dear companion gave many thanks. Doubtless his accomplishments made him very amiable, and his death is an infinite loss; but I am consoled by his happy death which causes me to believe that he is already enjoying God and interceding for us sinners."[4]

Meanwhile the Fathers saw that, if the work was left to the Angeleños, a church would never be built. They accordingly referred the matter to the Very Rev. Fr. Comisário Prefecto Mariano Payeras, who in August, 1821, held the canonical visitation at the Mission, and also visited Los Angeles. On this occasion he came to the conclusion that the neophytes of poor Mission San Gabriel would have to be induced to undertake the task, since the shiftless Angeleños failed to take hold of the work which concerned them so much. The Indians would carry out the plan for the honor of Almighty God. Fr. Payeras was on his way to visit the southern Missions; but on October 1st he returned, accompanied by Fr. José

[2] *De la Guerra Papers.*
[3] *De la Guerra Papers.*
[4] *De la Guerra Papers.*

Bernardo Sanchez. After deliberating once more with the Fathers he went back to Mission Purisima Concepcion, where on November 5th he issued the following beautiful Circular to all the Missions of California.

"Blessed Be Jesus!

"To the Rev. Fathers Preachers Apostolic and Missionaries of our Missions, from that of our Father St. Francis to that of San Diego.—My Respected Fathers and dear Brothers: Peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. I do not believe that Your Reverences are unaware of the heavy charge with which I am burdened. I will explain. The charges which for some years I have through obedience exercised here, have afforded me a complete knowledge of the Pueblo of Los Angeles and its concerns, that is to say, of its real and true state in matters spiritual and temporal. I have seen that 800 Catholic souls are there without a shepherd in sight; that there is one who could be had by request, but who is in charge of another distinct and numerous flock, three and one-half leagues distant, with a river intervening; that even though its (the pueblo's) inhabitants confess annually, many, life being uncertain, die without the Sacraments; and that there are scarcely any who come to San Gabriel to assist at holy Mass and to hear the word of God. This is very painful.

"It is a well-known fact that the zeal of the Missionary Fathers of the said Mission at all times sought to procure for those Christian inhabitants a pastor and a church building. The small chapel that exists there is so unfit that for this reason our former prelate, the Rev. Fr. Ex-Prefecto Sarría, forbade the Mission Fathers, his subjects, to celebrate the august Sacrifice in it until it were put in better condition. Then foundations were laid for a decent church.[5]

[5] No dates are available. It seems, therefore, that some kind of a structure for church purposes had been erected before October, 1813, when Fr. Sarría held his first canonical visitation; that this was the structure which he condemned; and that thereupon Fr. Gil, early in 1814, aroused the people to begin erecting a worthy church. It is this one of which Fr. Payeras speaks.

"Such was the condition of this most commendable undertaking when the adorable Providence of God willed that this least and useless servant of Your Reverences should take up the government of these our Missions. Behold now, in the first days of my office, I happen to be obliged to face the ridicule and scorn of the silly world by asking for alms. Thus our good Father St. Francis exerted himself soon after his conversion, when he undertook to repair three churches, in obedience to the voice of the Lord: *Francis, go and repair my house which is about to fall.* When I vividly pictured to myself how, particularly in this territory, the special calling of the fortunate sons of such a holy Patriarch is to erect and keep in repair churches; and when I recalled for a moment what I knew of the said pueblo (Los Angeles), I felt interiorly moved to intervene and to take part in the construction of the building, the foundations of which had already been laid. It is of this work I am speaking with much pleasure to Your Reverences.

"In view of this I begin to look around for means; but with amazement and with pain in my heart I shall tell Your Reverences that despite the great and deep desires which the pious settlers of the said pueblo manifested, I discovered neither disposition nor courage in them; that they would be able to assist only to some extent; and that the entire work needed a strong and wise arm which, by moving that grand and complicated machinery with all its power, would give to it the required impulse. Otherwise, because of the *hominem non habeo,*[6] the work would drag on interminably.

"Therefore, my dear Fathers, far from being dispirited about the great project, I went, during my first official visitation, down to the pueblo and assembled all its inhabitants and the rancheros. I told them in plain terms what occurred to me. We then came to an agreement; they would on their part do what was possible, whilst I engaged that the remainder

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[6] "I have no man."—Allusion to John, v, 7.

would be done *ex eleemosinis piorum,*[7] as I have read on various inscriptions of churches.

"Consequently, in the year 1819, I turned my eyes to the Missions and received from the Missions of San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, and San Diego seven barrels of brandy as pure alms, which having been sold in the presidios below, produced with other minor alms $575.81.

"The most insurmountable difficulty I always thought was to secure the requisite architect and mechanics of every class, who would erect a decent temple; but all this was overcome by the well-known charity of the Missionary Fathers of San Luis Rey whose neophytes, it appeared well to me, to engage on account of their larger number. Their kindness went further. In consideration of the eminent purpose, they fixed the wages of the neophyte laborers, including the master carpenters and masons, at one *real* (12½ cents) a day, besides board, and in part payment they accepted cattle at a favorable price.

"By this arrangement, my dear Fathers, the walls rose to the top of the windows. The pueblo then cut and hauled timber and sent some cattle to Mission San Luis Rey. From the aforementioned deposit was paid to the same Mission of San Luis Rey, $100; to Mission San Gabriel, $155.81; to the master architect, José Antonio Ramirez, $50; for tools, $70; to assist the pueblo in purchasing a bell for their church, $100; and for a ciborium, chalice, and other indispensable articles, which the said pueblo still lacked, $110. At present there are in the treasury, remaining in the custody of Mission San Gabriel, $50 from some matrimonial dispensations. The cost of construction will be not less than $2,000.

"In the month of November (December?), please God, the master architect and some neophytes will begin preparing the lumber, sawing boards and making the necessary furniture.

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[7] From the contributions of the pious. He means the neophytes, as will appear presently.

With the coming April so many neophytes will come from Missions San Luis Rey and San Diego as may be required to conclude in September the holy temple, covered with its roof, all whitewashed, and somewhat decorated. Also the adjoining cemetery will be ready; likewise the house of the missionary Father with all the necessary rooms.

LOS ANGELES CHURCH AND PRIESTS' DWELLING

"At this stage, then, had the Fathers arrived at my last official visit. They have left nothing to desire in the matter; nor the settlers with their two heads, the comisionado and the alcalde; and he who has the honor to inform Your Reverences. Therefore, my dear Fathers, as the feast of the Pueblo (August 2) has been transferred to the day of the dedication and blessing of its church, a solemn and general invitation is extended to the Fathers, to the Officials, and to all the inhabitants of the territory, in order that they be worthy witnesses of an act as touching as it is devotional.

"However, Rev. Fathers, *opus grande est,* the work still to be performed is very great and not less costly. The funds on hand to accomplish it amount to $50. The means of the pueblo that profits by it, consist altogether of some cattle and of one or the other little aid, but which will not cover the third part of the cost. Behold then, from what has been explained, my affliction. Will Your Reverences, my dearly beloved in Christ,

leave me therein? I have never thought so low of your Franciscan piety. Nothing is farther from my mind. I am asking not for myself but for God, who demands from us a sanctuary in the place designated, where He may dwell: *Fiat Mihi sanctuarium, et habitabo inter vos;*[8] and it must be a decent one, because it is to be occupied not by some material man like ourselves, but exclusively by the ineffable grandeur and majesty of God. *Neque enim homini preparatur habitatio, sed Deo.*[9]

"Therefore, he that is able must give alms. This poor one, the most needy in the world, appeals to the great piety of the neophytes, in order that through the efforts of Your Reverences, the worthy administrators of their property, they may give gratuitously, not money indeed, but whatever they can spare, or whatever is not absolutely necessary for them and may be useful to pay the laborers as also articles necessary for the construction of the building already described.

"On my recent journey I appealed to the poor settlers and to the rancheros located outside that pueblo (Los Angeles). Now I beg by means of this affectionate circular all our Missions, from San Francisco to San Diego, to contribute for the said purpose, let it be money, cattle, tallow, even cloth from the looms, pack mules, brandy (I will search for one who may sell it), or anything else of value; but the Missions of San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, and San Diego, will please observe that I hope from the kindness of their Missionary Fathers what they will each allow me, from November on until the work is finished, two carpenters from each of the first four missions named and six sawyers from the last-named; and that, beginning with next spring, the two last-named missions will supply the rest of the laborers needed, all at one *real* a day for all laborers without distinction. It is to be understood that whatever alms the charity of the neo-

[8] Allusion to Exod. xxv, 8: "They shall make me a sanctuary, and I will dwell in the midst of them."

[9] Allusion to Par. xxix, 1: "For a house is prepared not for man, but for God."

phytes may offer (who I believe are not unwilling) through the hands of Your Reverences, should be received in the respective missions by those that may be commissioned for that purpose.

"It would be mortifying to the great moderation and well-known modesty of Your Reverences, if I were more diffusive in emphasizing the merit of your alms or, let us say rather, the alms of your neophytes; how agreeable they will be to the governor of the territory; how edifying to all its inhabitants; and what a satisfaction and consolation for the one who is your most affectionate servant, companion, and least brother, and who with the greatest sincerity kisses your hands.—Mission Purisima, November 5, 1821. Fr. Mariano Payeras.

"*Postscript.*—To the petitioner, although he bears in mind the necessities which many individuals of the territory suffer, it nevertheless seemed proper to extend this humble request to all the lay people of the country, from the oldest to the youngest. Therefore, in order that everything may be done with the most considerate and prudent accord, he respectfully entreats our governor, the worthy patron of the future dedication and blessing (of the new church) to be pleased, provided my previous endeavors and the expected alms meet his approbation, to express it on this same paper or in a separate document in such terms as his religious zeal may deem opportune.—Fr. Mariano."

The solicitous Fr. Comisario Prefecto was not yet satisfied; for immediately after the preceding signature, he writes as follows:

"My dear Fathers, from the Mission of San Miguel to that of San Diego: After various considerations, which occurred to me after I had dated and signed the circular, it has appeared to me more expedient to restrict myself in my petition to the terms which I finally state in this second postscript.

"In addition to the grand and surpassing merit (you already see in the enclosed letter the approbation of the governor), which the alms-giver secures for alms, that, according to

Tobias, cap. 12, verse 9: *alms delivereth from death, purgeth away sin, and maketh to find mercy and life everlasting.* I gently remind Your Reverences that the church which, by our labors and those of our neophytes combined with those of the inhabitants, we are about to erect, is to be dedicated under an exclusive title, the most beloved of the whole Seraphic Order. Indeed, the Church of Our Lady of the Angels of the Porciuncula, located in the Pueblo of this Southern California, even though not a single one of us should exist there, will for all time to come be a monument, bearing irrefutable testimony that on this soil lived the sons of our holy Father. What greater and better recommendation could be offered, in order that by none of us be ignored this not less humble than ardent supplication, which the least of the Friars Minor has the honor of making to Your Reverences.

Fr. Mariano Payeras

"It remains for me only to remind the Fathers, from whose Missions I have asked for laborers, that, if any one of Your Reverences be not content with a wage of one *real* a day for the laborer, and it seem to him that it should without reduction and indulgence be a *real* and a half, besides the board customary in the territory, he may express himself clearly to that effect; for never shall I attempt to deprive anyone of his rights, although I did and do think that such a mission will not lose what, for the temple of God, which is being built purely with alms, it may grant for His sake. When all the missions named have in succession noted what they may be pleased to contribute, let the Fathers of San Diego return the circular to me here at Purisima. B.S.M.—Fr. Mariano."[10]

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[10] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

As was customary, Circulars from the higher Superiors were transcribed in a volume kept at each mission for that purpose and known as the *Libro de Patentes*. The original was dated and signed by the respective missionaries or by one of them. Many of the missions by this time had only one missionary. The Circular was then forwarded to the next establishment, and so on until it had made the round. The last one on the list, San Diego in this case, returned it to headquarters. Fr. Payeras seems not to have insisted that a copy be made at each mission, but only that it receive the usual signature and that the amount be specified which each missionary in the name of his Indian wards would find it possible to contribute. The Circular was signed and dated first at Fr. Payeras's own Mission of Purisima Concepcion on December 28, 1821, by Fr. Antonio Rodriguez, his companion. He stated that six pack mules and 200 head of cattle would be contributed.

Fr. Blas Ordáz signed the paper in place of Fr. Juan Martin, the missionary in charge, at San Miguel; but he forgot to affix the date. He noted, however, that the mission would contribute 500 head of cattle.

At Mission San Luis Obispo, Fr. Luis Martinez, the wag among the California friars, for once refrained from humorous remarks and said simply that his mission would give 200 head of cattle. As a rule, affixing dates seemed as superfluous and useless to him as writing out his name so that a person could read it. So we need not wonder that in this case also no date was added. It must have been December 29, however, because at Mission Santa Inés Fr. Francisco Xavier Uria, another humorist, signed the document on December 30, 1821. He probably thought that driving cattle all the way down to Los Angeles, there being no opportunity to sell them nearer by, would involve greater expense than the cattle were worth, but there was nothing else to give.

At Santa Barbara, on New Year's Day, 1822, Fr. Antonio Ripoll dated and signed the Circular with the remark that the mission would contribute one barrel of brandy.

Fr. Marcos Antonio de Victoria of Mission San Buenaventura dated and signed on January 3. His note was to the effect that, if on the completion of the church at Los Angeles a debt remained, his mission would help to cover it; if there should be no deficit, his mission would furnish a generous supply of church goods for the interior and the sacristy.

"This Mission of San Fernando Rey will give one barrel of brandy," Fr. Francisco Gonzalez de Ibarra wrote on January 5, 1822.

Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea, on January 8, 1822, made the same contribution, but in greater quantity; he doubled it by saying he would give two barrels.

Fr. Geronimo Boscana signed the Circular at Mission San Juan Capistrano on January 9, and Fr. Antonio Peyri at Mission San Luis Rey on January 11. Neither of the two Fathers noted what their mission would contribute; but since they supplied the laborers, they may be regarded as having done more than their share.

Finally Fr. Fernando Martin concluded the list by writing under date of January 12, 1822: "This Mission of San Diego will give two barrels of good white wine."

Fr. Payeras, the reader will have observed, apprised the Fathers that he had informed the governor of the project of building a church at Los Angeles, and that he had notified him of the steps taken to promote the execution of the plan, expecting, of course, that the governor himself would contribute. To this letter Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá replied under date of December 6, 1821, from Monterey:

"In response to your welcome note of November 6, I have to say that along with it I received the Circular which under date of November 5 you have directed to the Missionary Fathers of the missions, so that they may contribute some alms for the completion of the church of the Pueblo of Los Angeles. I return the circular with the official reply on the part of the government. Although I find myself actually in the greatest want, so that I am just now unable to be one of

the contributors to such a good work, I will remit what I can to Your Reverence before the work is completed."[11]

Governor Solá's plea that just then for lack of funds he could contribute nothing was sincere. Since 1811, owing to the Hidalgo Insurrection in Mexico, the Mexican government had not paid the salaries of either the officials or the soldiers in California. Solá could count only on the revenues from the customhouse, which not nearly sufficed. The missions, accordingly, became the main source for supplying the needs of the military, as the reader will learn from the description of the situation presented in our third volume on *The Missions and Missionaries of California.* For instance, on examining the account books in 1834, Fr. Esténaga and Nicolas Gutierrez, the commissioner for the confiscation, discovered that Mission San Gabriel had furnished to the presidio of San Diego from the year 1810 to 1825 supplies valued at $35,547; from January to July, 1828, to the amount of $8,925.90, in charge of Ensign Domingo Carrillo; from August 1, 1828, to the end of 1830, supplies to the value of $5,193 in charge of Juan Bandini, or a total of $49,665. In addition, for the presidio of Santa Barbara the Mission of San Gabriel from 1818 to July, 1820, furnished supplies for the amount of $5,796.75; on January 16, 1827, to the value of $500; and in September, 1827, to the amount of $598.38; or a total with those to San Diego of $56,560. In payment the Mission was given drafts on the treasury of Mexico on which nothing could be realized. At all events there is no evidence that any part of this amount due to the Mission was ever paid.[12]

As for the settlers, they paid next to nothing for the maintenance of the territorial government and the soldiers. At one period every settler paid annually one fanega or Spanish bushel of corn. They would pay what was called a tithe, but was only nominal. This went to the territorial fund.

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[11] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[12] *Cal. Archives, Prov. St. Pap., Benicia,* vol. lxxix, p. 653.

At Los Angeles the inhabitants did nothing for church purposes. They even expected the missionaries and the neophytes to build a church for them, whereas they should have deemed it an honor to erect the sacred edifice independently of outsiders. The neophytes, after all, had enough on their hands trying to keep the worthless soldiery in food and clothing and their own families sufficiently fed and dressed. The population of Los Angeles at the time numbered 800 souls, which means about 160 families. With a little effort and religious zeal, we think, they could have had a church of their own long before. And Fr. Payeras must have thought so, too, but he, the untiring and considerate missionary, argued in behalf of Religion, of God, for whose sake, in order to teach the Indians to know and worship Him, Fr. Payeras and his companions had come to California. That plea proved weighty enough to make them overlook the culpable neglect of the beneficiaries and to contribute not from their surplus but from their substance toward the completion of God's temple. Thus urged by the noble Fr. Comisario Prefecto, the Fathers, though themselves in straitened circumstances owing to military demands, sent their neophytes to do the work and supplied the means to pay the mechanics. In this way the undertaking was achieved and Los Angeles secured a worthy church edifice.

Therefore, if the people of Los Angeles ever plan the erection of a monument for any one who in the early days deserved well of their city, more than any other man, let them not think of the most contemptible of California governors, Felipe de Neve,[13] the heartless enemy of Fr. Serra and his devoted companions; but let them remember the noble Fr. Mariano Payeras together with Fr. Zalvidea, Fr. Nuez, and their neo-

[13] Not excepting the inglorious Pio Pico. The difference between the two is, that Neve would not let the Missions come to life, whereas Pico would not let them live. For details on Neve see *Mission San Juan Capistrano, Mission San Francisco,* and *Mission Santa Barbara,* also the second volume of *The Missions.*

phytes. Had not Fr. Payeras taken the matter in hand, the Church of Our Lady of the Angels, which still graces the center of Los Angeles, would never have risen above the foundation. The Catholic Church of Los Angeles, and the Parish of Our Lady of the Angels in particular, owe him a debt of gratitude.

It was most probably in 1822 that the church and the priests' dwelling were completed. Unfortunately, the usual Annual and Biennial Reports of Mission San Gabriel for the years 1822-1824 are lost. Some allusion, at least, to the dedication would have been made in these documents, the more so as Fr. Payeras writes that a great celebration was contemplated. Bancroft claims: "I have an original record of the dedication on December 8th (1822), but have lost the reference. José de la Guerra was chosen by the ayuntamiento as *padrino*."[14] The remark about Captain de la Guerra is not quite correct. To act as *padrino* or royal patron was the right of the governor, who, indeed, may have directed the captain to represent him at the ecclesiastical function. Had Bancroft reproduced the text of the report about that dedication, we might be able to discover who made it.

Baptisms seem to have been, as heretofore, administered at San Gabriel, since Los Angeles was still regarded as an assistencia, not as a parish. As yet it had neither a pastor of its own nor a baptismal font. On Januray 20, 1821, in the name of the inhabitants, the alcalde and regidores had sent a petition to the Fr. Comisario Prefecto Mariano Payeras, describing the condition of Religion, or rather the lack of it, in the community for want of a pastor. They solicited the appointment of Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada, who had laid the cornerstone of the church building. This paper, which covers nearly three pages, is signed "at the request of Alcalde Anastasio Avila by José Antonio Carrillo, and at the request of the two Regidores Antonio Ignacio Avila and José Maria Aguilár by José Palomares."

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[14] *California*, vol. ii, p. 562.

On the margin of the petition, Fr. Payeras made the following note: "In due time, I replied that Fr. Luis Gil was located at Mission Santa Cruz and could not leave that Mission on account of the habitual infirmity of his companion, Fr. Ramón Olbés; that the good pleasure of the desired Father would have to be consulted, especially since he himself was ailing to such an extent as to make it impossible for him to comply with the demands they would make on his Reverence; and that they could very soon expect the decision of the curate whom I have solicited for them from the Rt. Rev. Bishop (of Sonora).[15]

So the people of Los Angeles had still to depend on the ministrations of the two Fathers at Mission San Gabriel, who probably by turns celebrated holy Mass in the new church on Sundays and holy days of obligation. Beginning with the year 1826, however, if not earlier, Our Lady of the Angels became a full-fledged parish. The designation is employed for the first time, so far as we know, in the Baptismal Register, which opens thus:

"In Nomine Christi. Amen.

"Libro de Bautismos de la Parochia de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles."

The first Baptism was entered on March 4, 1826. It was administered *en la Iglesia de este Pueblo,* as Fr. Boscana notes. He also entered all subsequent Baptisms down to number 287, which was administered on June 27, 1831. This was Fr. Boscana's last entry in the book.

Fr. Jesus Maria Martinez, a visiting Franciscan from the College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, appears to have tarried here a while with the permission of the Fathers of San Gabriel, under whose jurisdiction Los Angeles still remained. Fr. Martinez began to enter Baptisms on July 17, 1831, with Number 288, and continued till Number 307, conferred on November 27, 1831.

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[15] *Archb. Arch.,* No. 1196.

Then followed Fr. José Bernardo Sanchez, residing at San Gabriel, from September 3, 1831, to November 5, 1832, Number 341 being his last entry. Fathers José Antonio Anzar and Francisco Cuculla, two Zacatecan Franciscans, officiated at Baptisms from October, 1831, to December 18, 1831.

The first priest, not a Franciscan, who resided at Los Angeles with the permit of the Fathers of San Gabriel, was the Very Rev. J. Alexis Bachelot, C. SS. CC., apostolic prefect of the Sandwich Islands. He entered upon his duties and baptized on April 15, 1832, and continued till March 22, 1837, when he returned to his own field of apostolic labors. The reasons for the appearance of this truly apostolic man will be told later.

CHAPTER X

Political Changes.—Extent of the Mission Lands.—Live Stock.—San Bernardino Rancho.—Building Activities.—New Padron.—Fr. José Sanchez, Presidente of the Missions.—Governor Echeandia's Duplicity.—Fr. Sanchez Indignant.—First Americans from the East Overland.—Their Character, Conduct, Treatment.—Their Observations.—Some Light on Mission Life.—Fr. Sanchez Highly Praised.—Joseph Chapman.

MEANWHILE a radical change occurred in the political affairs of California which affected the Missions adversely, and finally wiped them out. Mexico, after a struggle lasting eleven years, September, 1821, declared itself independent of Spain, and set up a government of its own. In consequence, California became a part of the new republic with the right to be represented in Congress as a territory. On May 21, 1822, Vicente Pablo de Solá, the last Spanish ruler on the coast, was elected delegate to the Mexican Congress. The territorial legislature allowed him $4,000 to defray the expenses of the journey to the Capital. The money was to be raised by subscription or by a special tax. Fr. Commissary Prefect Mariano Payeras urged the missionaries to have their Missions contribute what could be spared. San Gabriel through Fr. José Sanchez donated $220. Captain Luis Argüello, commandant of the presidio at San Francisco, was elected to succeed Solá temporarily as ruler of California until the Mexican government should appoint a governor. Argüello continued in office till October, 1825, when the Mexican appointee, José Maria de Echeandia, arrived at San Diego.[1]

The new system of government in Mexico naturally called for a new constitution. This was promulgated on October 4, 1824. Early in February, 1825, the Franciscans were called upon to take the oath on this new constitution. Fr. Sarría,

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[1] *Archbishop's Archives,* No. 1369. For details see *The Missions,* vol. iii, p. 150.

who had in August, 1823,[2] succeeded to the office of comisario prefecto, declined to take the oath on the ground of conscientious scruples. The Fathers were by no means unanimous on the question. All had taken the oath of Mexican independence from Spain, but this new constitution contained provisions which most of them would not sanction. Besides, it was not the expression of the will of the entire nation, but only of a handful of politicians and militarists. When José M. Echeandia, the governor appointed by Mexico, arrived at Pueblo San Diego in October, 1825, and a month later assumed the office, he demanded that all the missionaries should swear unconditional allegiance. This all but two, Fr. Peyri and Fr. Suñer, refused to do. All agreed to swear obedience in everything that was not against their conscience. That would have satisfied any reasonable government, but it did not suit that of Mexico, and there it disclosed its true animus, which, of course, justified the stand assumed by the missionaries. Fathers Sanchez and Boscana at Mission San Gabriel agreed with the majority of the Fathers. There was talk of expelling the unpolitical but very religious missionaries; but as no other priests could be secured to supplant them, they were permitted to remain.

In 1827, the territorial government wanted to know the extent of the mission lands. In obedience to this order of October 7, Fr. José Sanchez of San Gabriel reported as follows:

"This Mission of San Gabriel the Archangel is situated in 34 degrees north latitude and it is distant from Monterey 128 leagues, a little more or less. It is distant from the limits of the Rancho Verdugo about one and one-half leagues; from the limits of the Pueblo of Los Angeles about one and one-half leagues, that is to say, from the limits of the Mission to Los Angeles; from the Mission to the limits of the rancho of the late Dominguez about six leagues. In that direction,

[2] Fr. Payeras, the comisário prefecto, died on April 28, 1823, and Fr. José Señan, the vice-prefecto, on August 24th, following.

on the lower San Gabriel River, intervene two ranchos or sites, the one designated as belonging to the widow of the deceased Sotelo, and the other to Antonio Maria Lugo. These sites or ranchos were granted without the knowledge of the Mission, because the last-named belongs partly to the Pueblo of Los Angeles and partly to the Mission, while the first is where the Mission cattle farm begins, as also that of the sheep. It is distant from the limits of Rancho Santa Gertrudis, otherwise Los Nietos, three leagues; but it is to be observed that in 1815, Don José Argüello, the temporary governor, granted the whole valley of the Rio San Gabriel, besides the Cañada Verde with Los Coyotes, to the Mission. This district is occupied by the cattle and, at certain times, by the sheep, and even by the pigs. Likewise, it is to be observed that by permission of the ranchero, Juan José Nieto, the Mission uses for cattle the localities called Serritos and Bolsa, belonging to said rancho.

"Toward the southeast, the (Mission) land extends through the cañon in the direction of the Colorado River for over twenty leagues. On this tract are the two sites La Puente, about four leagues, and Santa Ana, about ten leagues. At a distance of about fifteen leagues is another called Jorupet, while the distance to San Bernardino is about twenty leagues. In the same direction is the place called San Gorgónio,[3] about twenty-seven leagues distant.

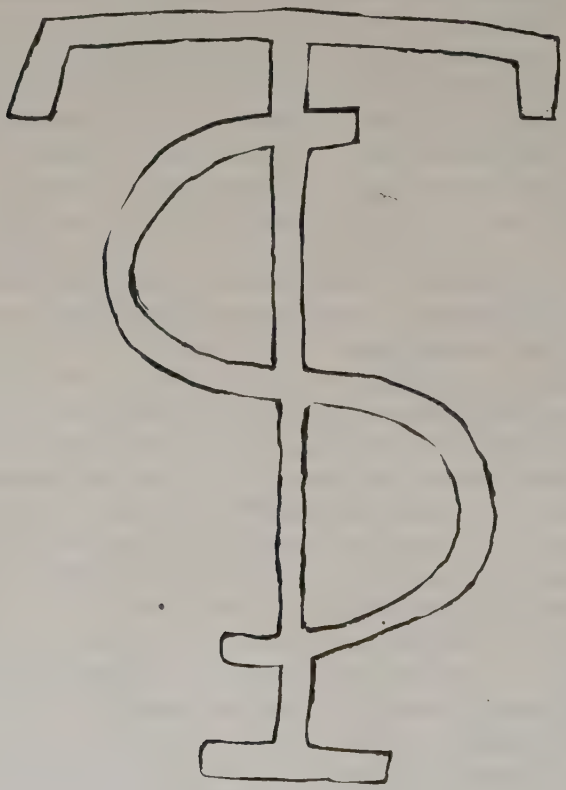
"Since the government so far has not assigned any boundaries, except to the adjacent ranchos of Verdugo and Nieto, nothing more is to be said, because, although the rancho of the late Sergeant Antonio Yorba is contiguous to the lands of the Mission, the Mission does not know what boundaries it has and how far his rancho extends.

"The number of cattle which the Mission possesses, according to the reports it annually transmits to the government, will reach more or less 18,400 head: of horses, 2,400 in all; of mules, 130; of sheep, 14,000; of pigs, 150; of goats, 50;

[3] Now Beaumont.

all very adapted to the country or lands, as experience has demonstrated.

"The Mission has a great deal of irrigable land near the spot which it occupies. It has some land also along the river that is sufficiently humid to depend on the rains. The



SAN GABRIEL MISSION CATTLE BRAND

same is the case in the locality called Santa Ana and in the locality of San Bernardino, by reason of the water ditches which, like the Mission, the sites named have. Moreover, all know the Rio San Gabriel, and they are aware of the Rio Santa Ana.

"In all these places, cattle are rounded up and branded, so as to distinguish them. There is timber, and on the Rio San Gabriel, below the Mission, there is a good stretch of so-called mountain. The same is the case at San Bernardino. It is from there the Rio Santa Ana comes down. There are springs all over the sierra of San Gabriel.

"This is what I can say touching Mission San Gabriel, where I am at present the missionary.—December 5. 1827. Fr. José Sanchez."[4]

San Bernardino, mentioned by Fr. Sanchez, was a rancho that had the necessary shelter for the herders of the cattle and sheep. It seems that at stated times the Fathers celebrated holy Mass there for the Indians guarding the herds, and that in time it would have developed into an assistencia or regular mission station. In fact, at the end of this year, 1827, Fr. Sanchez reports: "Rancho de San Bernardino. The house is of adobe. It consists of one long building. It has an *enramada* or structure of boughs which serves as a chapel. It has also a building with compartments for keeping the grain. The walls of this structure are of adobe." The rancho of San Bernardino could therefore not compare with the *asistencia* of San Antonio de Pala, or even with that of Las Flores, which both belonged to Mission San Luis Rey.

Before proceeding, it is well to note an incident which emphasizes the kindly disposition of Fr. Zalvidea, who on account of ill health was in 1826 transferred to Mission San Juan Capistrano. Under date of July 7, 1822, Fr. Zalvidea wrote to Captain José de la Guerra of Santa Barbara: "The Indian Joaquin, who ran away from this shelter, appeared in the mountains about Mission San Luis Rey. When informed of the general pardon, he presented himself to Don Francisco Ruiz of San Diego, who quietly sent him here. You should have been told of it. I hope that in your kindness you will ratify the pardon."[5]

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[4] *Cal. Arch., State Papers, Missions,* vol. vi, pp. 200-201.

[5] *De la Guerra Papers.*

Resuming the report on the building activities, it is clear that, owing to the fact that the neophyte mechanics were occupied at building the church in Los Angeles, little could be accomplished at the Mission. However, in December, 1821, the Fathers relate that two rooms had been erected or added to the existing buildings for the storing of grain and seeds. One measured sixty-six and the other fifty-one varas in length, while both measured nine varas in width. No new buildings were erected in 1822.

In 1823, a building was completed for the housing of a machine for cutting wood, and for a forge. A mill was also completed for grinding wheat. Nothing was reported for the year 1824, save that a new *Padrón* was arranged. This was a book which contained in alphabetical order the names, Christian or pagan, of all the Indians belonging to the Mission, besides the rancherias, as follows:

1. Families, i.e., father, mother, children in the order of their birth.
2. Widowers with children; widowers without children.
3. Widows with children; widows without children.
4. Male orphans; female orphans.

The letter *C* was appended to the names of those who had been confirmed. By the first of January, 1824, 2,502 names bore that designation.

In 1825, a mill for grinding wheat and another for sawing wood were completed. Both were operated by water-power. In their report for this year Fathers Zalvidea and Sanchez note that there were many run-aways, and that they hoped the government would take steps to stop the disorder.

In 1826, various additions were made to the church goods, notably a chasuble and a precious antependium. At the close of the year 1827 the Fathers report that the reconstruction of the church was nearly accomplished.

At the close of the year 1828, Fr. Sanchez reports that the restoration of the church had been concluded and that

the main altar as well as the two side altars had been set up. This is the last report on building, save that Fr. Sanchez, at the end of 1829, writes: "The church is beautifully adorned and provided with everything for divine worship."

Writing to Governor Echeandia, under date of August 26, 1828, Fr. Sanchez remarked that some of the Indian boys had begun to learn to write, but that, instead of long hand, they preferred to print the letters. Since laborers were scarce, however, it was necessary to call on the boys for all kinds of work. The consequence was that in six days they forgot what they had learned in four.[6] This was another deplorable result of Echeandia's presence in California. The greatest drawback to conducting schools, which the Fathers no less than the governor desired, was the dearth of teachers.[7]

A special honor came to the Mission when, at the expiration of Fr. Duran's term of Presidente of the Missions, Fr. Sanchez succeeded him. The appointment was dated Mexico, June 9, 1827, but the news and the documents did not reach him till November, and then he declined to accept the office. He unbosomed his grief in two letters to his predecessor; but Fr. Duran made it clear to him that he could not shirk the duties imposed upon him. Fr. Sanchez therefore yielded, but made San Gabriel his headquarters, instead of moving to Monterey, and managed his Mission as before, keeping Fr. Boscana as companion until the latter's death in 1831.[8]

Like some of the Fathers at other missions in Governor Echeandia's power, the missionaries at San Gabriel were subjected to various chicaneries. Not even Fr. Sanchez was exempted, albeit he occupied the highest ecclesiastical position in the territory. This aggravated the insult heaped on him by the military with the connivance of Governor Echean-

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[6] *Archb. Arch.*, No. 2,033.

[7] On the subject of schools and education see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 242-244, 266-267, 270,274, 473-475; vol. iii, pp. 325, 394-399; vol. iv, pp. 332-334.

[8] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 249-250.

dia. What actually happened is best told by the writers of a letteer addressed to Fr. Sanchez. It reads as follows:

"Puerto de San Pedro, June 3, 1828. Rev. Father:—As soon as I arrived at the pueblo (Los Angeles) from the Mission (San Gabriel), I had scarcely got seated before I received orders to go to the alcalde, who questioned me as to my business at the mission. I told him that I went to see about the things for the Padres at the islands. He asked me when the cart was going to the beach. I told him, in the morning. When I arrived at the rancho I found five soldiers, headed by Antonio Maria Lugo, waiting, as I supposed, for the cart which passed whilst they were at the rancho; but they were apprised of it by somebody, and they instantly set off in pursuit. In about three-quarters of an hour one soldier returned to the rancho and told me to follow him. I went with him and found they had stopped the cart at the river, and had taken everything out. They examined minutely everything in the cart, even searched in the corn, and said they were looking for dollars, which, they supposed belonged to the Padre and were hidden. They also took the letters from the Indian and those directed to me. They opened and perused them and of the others they copied the directions. I am very sorry they have such a bad opinion of us, Padre, but perhaps it may be for the better, as it may be the means of our distinguishing our friends from our enemies. We received in the cart the whole of the things specified in your letter for which I am obliged to you, etc. Brig *Karimoko*. John Lawlor by John Wilkinson."[9]

On the receipt of this communication, Fr. Sanchez at once indignantly protested to the governor, and demanded his passport. "As presidente of the Missions," he wrote, "I can not behold with indifference the infamous injury which has been inflicted upon me. . . . I therefore ask for my passport in order to leave the province. I want to embark on the frigate *Princesa*. I want to leave, or rather I want

[9] *Archb. Arch.*, No. 2,025. The letter was written in English.

to fly away from San Gabriel; for I shall take nothing along but my Breviary."[10] Later, on August 18, 1828, he again protested against spying into his papers and affairs. In reply, Echeandia endeavored to pacify the justly indignant Fr. Presidente. "With regard to the charges made against Your Reverence on account of which you demand your passport to leave the country," the governor wrote, "I have to state that they are unfounded. I have ordered the alcalde of Los Angeles to appear before me with witnesses in order to explain his action, and I invite you to attend or to name some person to represent you."[11] This sounds strange in view of the fact that it was Echeandia himself who had caused Carrillo to proceed against the missionary. It seems Fr. Sanchez allowed himself to be persuaded to drop the matter and, for the sake of the poor neophytes, to stay at his post. At all events, he never left it except for the world where unselfish zeal receives full compensation.

On Monday, November 27, 1826, a number of American trappers, headed by Jedediah S. Smith, the first who crossed the country from the east, arrived at Mission San Gabriel in a most forlorn condition. Harrison S. Rogers, "a stalwart Calvinist" and the clerk of the company, kept a record of the daily occurrences. This has been preserved, although its author and his companions, except three among whom was Smith, were massacred by the Umpqua Indians in Oregon. We should like to reproduce the portion relating to the stay of these trappers at the Mission; but much of it is manifestly incorrect. The treatment they received, however, and the impressions they brought away, will interest the reader and will throw some light on mission life. Rogers relates, and we give his English as it was printed and published:[12]

"There came an old Indian to us that speaks good Spanish, and took us to the mansion (mission.) Soon as we entered

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10 Ibidem, No. 2,031.

11 Ibidem, No. 2,031; *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.*, vol. vi, pp. 393-395.

12 *The Ashley-Smith Explorations*, pp. 198-226.

SAN GABRIEL MISSION CHURCH. FRONT AND SIDE VIEW

there was plenty prepared to eat, a fine young cow killed, and plenty of corn meal given us. There was great feasting among the men as they were pretty hungry. I arrived late in the evening and was received very politely, and showed into a room. Bout ten o'clock at night supper was served, and Mr. Smith and myself sent for. I was introduced to the two priests, and found them to be very jovial friendly gentlemen. (Next morning) we was sent for about sunrise to drink a cup of tea (chocolate) and eat some bread and cheese. They all appear friendly and treat us well, although they are Catholicks by profession, they allow us the liberty of conscience, and treat us as they do their own countrymen, or brethren."

That same day, after dinner, Rogers again wrote: "They all appear to be gentlemen of the first class, both in manner and habits. The Mansion or Mission consists of 4 rows of houses forming a complete square, where there is all kinds of macanicks at work; the church faces the east and the guard house the west; the N. and S. line comprises the work shops. They have large vineyards, apple and peach orchards, and some orange and some fig trees. They manufacture blankets, and sundry other articles; they distil whiskey (grape brandy), and grind their own grain, having a water mill of tolerable quality. They have upwards of 1,000 persons employed, men, women, and children, Indians of different nations. Cattle—this Mission has upwards of 30,000; horses, sheep, hogs, etc., in proportion."

Under date of November 30, Rogers writes: "There was a wedding and Mr. Smith and myself invited; the bell was rang a little before sunrise, and the morning service performed; then the musick commenced serranading, the soldiers firing etc.; about 7 o'clock tea (chocolate) was served, and about 11 o'clock, dinner and musick. The ceremony and dinner was held at the priests; they had an elegant dinner, consisting of a number of dishes, boiled and roast meat and fowl, wine and brandy, grapes brought as a dessert after dinner. We

endeavored to apologize, being very dirty and not in a situation to shift our clothing, but no excuse would be taken, we must be present, as we have been served at their table ever since we arrived; they treat us as gentlemen in every sense of the word. Mr. Smith spoke to the commandant (corporal) respecting the rations of his men; they were immediately removed into another apartment, and furnished with cooking utensils and plenty of provisions.

"The men appear satisfied," he wrote on December 1. "Mr. Smith informed me that he had to give Read a little flogging yesterday evening, on account of some impertinence.[13]

"Every attention is paid to me," Rogers relates on the next day, "by all that is present, especially the old priest. I must say he is a very fine man and very much of a gentleman." Then, however, Rogers strangely claims, "They (the Indians) are kept in great fear; for the least offense they are corrected; they are compleat slaves in every sense of the word."[14] On Sunday, December 30, Rogers has this to say, and it applies to all the Sundays during his sojourn at the Mission: "About 6 o'clock the bell rang for mass, and they poured into church from all quarters, men, women and children; there was none of us invited therefore we all remained at our lodgings. The Indians play bandy (hockey) with sticks, it being the only game I have seen as yet among them. They play before the priest's door." Next day he notes: "The priest presented Mr. Smith with two pieces of shirting containing 64 yards for to make the men shirts, all being nearly naked. Mr. Smith gives each man 3½ yards, and kept the same number for himself, each man getting enough to make a shirt."

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[13] James Read, a troublesome fellow, later left Smith's employ. If an employer in those days could flog his men, it is strange that some writers make so much ado about the flogging of turbulent or indolent Indians. Soldiers in the army were flogged until 1861.

[14] Had he said they were treated like children, some of whom at times are unruly and need the rod, he would have stated the truth; but to call neophytes, under Fr. Sanchez, "the fine gentleman," slaves, is too incongruous and unhistorical to need refutation.

On December 10, Rogers says: "There was five Indians brought to the mission by two other Indians, who act as constables, or overseers, and sentenced to be whipped for not going to work when ordered. Each received from 12 to 14 lashes, the commandant (corporal) standing by with his sword to see that the Indian who flogged them done his duty. . . . The band of musick consists of two violins, one bass violin, a trumpet and triangle was played for two hours in the evening before the priests door by Indians. They made tolerable good musick. Directly after the musick would cease, there was several rounds of cannon fired by the soldiers in commemoration of some great saint's day or feast day. . . .

"I walked through the workshops," Rogers relates on December 13, "I saw some Indians blacksmithing, some carpentering, others making the wood work of ploughs, others employed in making spinning wheels for the squaws to spin on. There is upwards of sixty women employed in spinning yarn and others weaving."

Neither Indians nor Mexicans were deeply impressed with the character of these first *Americanos y Protestantes* who had come directly from *Los Estados Unidos*. Rogers says on December 14 that, whereas "friendship and peace prevail with us and the Spaniards, our own men are contentious and quarrelsome amongst themselves and have ever since we started the expedition." On January 6, he notes: "Our blacksmith, James Read, came very abruptly into the priest's dining room while at dinner, and asked for aguardiente. The priest ordered a plate of victuals to be handed him. He eat a few mouthfuls, and set the plate on the table, and then took the decanter of wine, and drank without invitation, and came very near breaking the glass when he set it down. The Padre, seeing he was in a state of inebriety, refrained from saying anything."

It is clear that the Americanos must have been a burden to the Mission and a mortification to good Fr. Sanchez. Yet he put up with them for nearly two months. The Indians,

of course, regarded the ill-behaved guests as heathens, despite the protestations that they possessed Christianity in its purity. For all that, as Rogers repeatedly declares, the kindness of Fr. Sanchez would not abate in the least. Little need we wonder, however, if Rogers, more than two weeks after he had become the daily table companion of the missionaries, was tackled by Fr. Sanchez on the topic of religion. On December 14, he wrote: "Last night at supper for the first time the priest questioned me as respected my religion. I very frankly informed him that I was brought up under the Calvinist doctrine, and did not believe in the power of man to forgive sins. God only had that power, and when I was under the necessity of confessing my sins, I confessed them unto God in prayer and supplication, not to man; I further informed him that it was my opinion, that men ought to possess as well as profess religion to constitute the Christian, etc." All this must have been very amusing to good Fr. Sanchez; but being a perfect gentleman, as Rogers acknowledged, he smiled within and let his guest have the floor, although it was plain that on the subject of Catholic doctrine he saw that Rogers knew not what he was talking about. Fr. Sanchez remained the perfect gentleman, as Rogers conceded five days later when he wrote: "The old Father continues his friendship to me; it does not appear to abate in the least. I still eat at his table."

On January 5, Rogers supplies this welcome item. The description is not to be found elsewhere. "I walked over to the soap factory," he writes, "and find it more extensive than I had an idea. It consists of four large cisterns, or boilers, that will hold from 2,000 to 2,500 gallons each. The cistern is built in the shape of a sugar loaf made of brick, stone, lime. There is a large iron pot, or kettle, fixed in the bottom where the fire strikes them to set them boiling, lined around the mouth of the cistern and the edge of the pots with sheet iron 8 or 10 inches wide. The pots or kettles will hold from 2 to 250 gallons each, and a great many small ones fixed in like manner."

When New Year's Day came around, Rogers kindly bethought himself of a suitable address. He wrote it out and handed it to Fr. Sanchez. It would cover more than two pages, wherefore we note only the salient features. Rogers speaks of Christ and the Apostles and calls Fr. Sanchez's attention to the Bible. His address was well meant and though Fr. Sanchez himself knew a little about the Bible, in fact, like priests the world over, he read portions of it for an hour and a half every day, he accepted Rogers's lecture good-humoredly. Catholics derive no end of amusement from the monstrous notions occasionally exploded by non-Catholics regarding Catholic doctrine and customs. So Fr. Sanchez probably waited till he returned to his room before indulging his risible powers. Perhaps the feeling of compassion dominated him, so that he breathed a prayer that some light might be bestowed upon his well-meaning guest. Rogers seemed to think that he knew all about Catholics by intuition and did not need to investigate at first hand. "Their religion appears to be a form more than a reality," he wrote without even once entering the church for Sunday services. On Monday, January 15, nearly two months after his arrival, he wrote: "I went in their church today for the first time and saw molten images; they have our Saviour on the cross, his mother and Mary, the mother of James, and 4 Apostles, all as large as life." However, for all that the priest was a Catholic, Rogers thought "Old Father Sanchus (Sanchez) has been the greatest friend I ever met with in all my travels, he is worthy of being called a Christian, as he possesses charity in the highest degree, and a friend to the poor and distressed. I ever shall hold him as a man of God, taking us when in distress, feeding, and clothing us, and may God prosper him and all such men; when we left the Mission he give Mr. Smith an order to get everything he wanted for the use of the company, at San Bernardino. The steward complied with the order as soon as it was presented by Mr. Smith."

A noteworthy character, who deserves mention, was Joseph Chapman. Rogers speaks of him in his diary, on January

2, as follows: "Mr. Joseph Chapman, a Bostonian by birth, who is married in this country and brought over to the Catholic faith, came here (San Gabriel) to superintend the burning of a coal (charcoal) pit for the priest. He is getting wealthy, being what we term a Yanky. He is jack of all trades, and naturally a very ingenious man. Under those circumstances he gets many favors from the priest by superintending of mills, blacksmithing, and many other branches of mechanism." Bancroft further informs us: "He was a great favorite of the friars, especially P. Sanchez, who declared it a marvel that one so long in the darkness of Baptist faith could give such an example of true Catholic piety to older Christians."[15] Chapman will be met again at San Buenaventura.

Joseph Chapman, a native of Boston, Mass., came to California in the pirate ship commanded by Hipolite Bouchard as a prisoner. He escaped and made his way to San Buenaventura, where he took religious instructions and was baptized unconditionally, his parents having been Baptists, by Fr. José Señan on June 24, 1822, under the name José Juan. The sponsor was Miguel Pico, an invalid soldier of Santa Barbara. Later he came to San Gabriel, Harrison Rogers speaking of him as being there in 1826. Having been a sailor, by direction of Fr. Sanchez, Chapman constructed a ship out of timber brought from a distant cañon. He took it to pieces, carted it to San Pedro, and there reconstructed the vessel. He launched it under the title of *Guadalupe*. There is no allusion in the Mission Records or documents to the wonderful feat. Robinson appears to be the chief authority on the subject.

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[15] *California*, vol. ii, p. 757.

CHAPTER XI

An Erratic Vaccinator.—Alfred Robinson's Observations and Figures.—Echeandia's Wicked Plot.—Silly Legislators.—Governor Manuel Victoria's Arrival Upsets Echeandia's Schemes.—Revolt of Baffled Greed.—A Battle.—Victoria Resigns and Departs.—Two Governors.—The Fitch-Carrillo Elopement Case.—The Judgment.—Mexican Franciscans Arrive.

NUMEROUS travelers and adventurers visited the Pacific Coast during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Some would look upon the Missions with a kindly and fair eye; others would behold them through spectacles of unreasoning prejudice. Many of the visitors would feel themselves moved to let the distant public share in the knowledge acquired at the cost of much hardship. Some of them would endeavor to be fair to the missionary efforts they had witnessed. Their works have a certain historical value, and may be referred to with confidence. Other would-be authors seem to have had no other aim in view than venting their spleen, and profiting by the gullibility of the prejudiced. To the latter class belonged one James O. Pattie, who claimed to have visited the Missions and pueblos from San Diego to San Francisco, and to have vaccinated thousands of Indians and settlers. According to his statement, he arrived at San Gabriel in March, 1829. "Here I vaccinated 960 individuals," he writes; but in the records there is not the slightest allusion to him or to vaccination. The reader will find more about him in the volume on San Diego Mission. Pattie claims that the "herds of cattle (are) so numerous, that their number is unknown even to the surveying and systematic priests," an assertion about as true as his claim of having vaccinated at the Mission. At Los Angeles, he said, he vaccinated 2,500 persons; but, according to Bancroft,[1] the entire population

[1] *California, vol.* iii, p. 632.

of the town at the time amounted to 770 souls or, with the 390 outside the town, to 1,060.

Alfred Robinson in his *Life in California,*[2] supplies some interesting items for this period, as he visited the Mission in the same year, 1829. "It was Saturday evening, and as we approached the buildings of the Mission, the chapel bells tolled the hour of prayer (the Angelus). Hundreds of Indians were kneeling upon the ground, and as the tolling ceased, they slowly rose to retire, and a merry peal announced the coming of the Sabbath (Sunday). The director of St. Gabriel was Fr. José Sanchez. . . . Through his liberality the needy wanderer, of whatever nation or creed, found a home and protection in the Mission.

"In the morning, at six o'clock, we went to the church, where the priest had already commenced the service of Mass. The imposing ceremony, glittering ornaments, and illuminated walls, were well adapted to captivate the simple mind of the Indian, and I could not but admire the apparent devotion of the multitude, who seemed absorbed, heart and soul, in the scene before them. The solemn music of the Mass was well selected, and the Indian voices accorded harmoniously with the flutes and violins that accompanied them. On retiring from the church, the musicians stationed themselves at the private door of the building, whence issued the reverend father, whom they escorted with music to his quarters; there they remained for a half hour, performing waltzes and marches, until some trifling present was distributed among them, when they retired to their homes.

"As is usual on all their *dias de fiesta,* the remaining part of the Sabbath (Sunday) is devoted to amusements, and the Indian generally resorts to gambling, in which he indulges to the most criminal excess, frequently losing all he possesses in the world—his clothes—beads—baubles of all kinds, and even his wife and children.[3] We saw them thus engaged,

[2] *Life in California,* pp. 44-46.

[3] This latter, of course, holds good with the savages, but it could not be said of the neophytes.

scattered in groups about the Mission, while at a little distance quite an exciting horse race was going on; the Indians betting as wildly on their favorite animals as upon the games of chance, which found so many devotees.

"There are several extensive gardens attached to this Mission, where may be found oranges, citrons, limes, apples, pears, peaches, pomegranates, figs, and grapes in abundance. From the latter they make yearly from four to six hundred barrels of wine and two hundred of brandy,[4] the sale of which produces an income of more than twelve thousand dollars. The storehouses and granaries are kept well supplied, and the corridor in the square is usually heaped up with piles of hides and tallow. Besides the resources of the vineyard, the Mission derives considerable revenue from the sale of grain; and the weekly slaughter of cattle produces a sufficient sum for clothing and supporting the Indians.

"The two *ranchos* of San Bernardino and Santa Ana are included in the possessions of the Mission; the former of these has been assigned by the padres for the sole purpose of domesticating cattle, and is located some (?) leagues distant, in a secluded valley among the mountains; the latter is for cultivation, and is one of the fairy spots to be met with so often in California. On the declivity of a hill is erected the *molino,* or grist-mill, surrounded with fruit trees and flowers. . . .

"The Mission of St. Gabriel . . . was thought at one time to possess from eighty to over a hundred thousand head of cattle,[5] besides horses, mules, and sheep, and countless numbers of which run at large. No advantage is derived from them beyond the value of their hides and tallow."

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[4] Some one at the Mission must have been practicing on Robinson's credulity.

[5] If Robinson's figures (see his *California,* pp. 44-46) regarding wine and brandy are as well founded on fact as these on cattle, we can guess the probable number of barrels. The largest number of cattle belonged to the Mission in 1828, when they numbered just 26,300 head. See the tables near the end of this volume.

VOLUNTEER MISSIONARIES RECEIVE THE BLESSING OF THE FR. GUARDIAN OF THE MISSIONARY COLLEGE, MEXICO

On July 20, 1830, Governor Echeandia laid before the territorial assembly his plan for the confiscation of the missions. Of course, he gave his scheme another name; but it was merely to clothe the robbery in a more attractive garb. He called it secularization. The assembly consisted of four paisanos; namely Antonio Buelna, José Tibúrcio Castro, Sálvio Pacheco, and Carlos Castro; while another paisano, Juan B. Alvarado, who was just twenty-one years and five months old, acted as secretary. Echeandia's plan received the approval of the four legislators on August 3, 1830. The Mexican government, however, declined to sanction the wholesale steal. Instead, it appointed a new governor in the person of Manuel Victoria.

Meanwhile, Echeandia and his scheming clique, desirous of appearing solicitious for the spiritual welfare of the country, conceived another plan which was to provide priests in place of the Franciscans who were fast disappearing through death. On their own account, without consulting the ecclesiastical authorities, the same four men together with the governor, on August 13, 1830, adopted the following idiotic decree, which savors more of child's play than of the action of sane men. As a curiosity it is worth while to be perpetuated here, since San Gabriel was to be a beneficiary. It reads:

"1. Two Franciscan monasteries shall be established in Upper California, one at Mission San Gabriel and the other at Mission Santa Clara. For this purpose the government will without delay take steps to have twenty or more religious of the Order go there. It shall provide from the Pious Fund for the expenses of the voyage and for transportation, and shall assign the main building, the church, and the gardens of said missions for that purpose.

"2. Each monastery shall have at least a guardian, a master of novices, and an assistant for the latter, who shall also occupy the chair of grammar, and a vicar.

"3. When the clerics are ready for ordination, they shall for that purpose pass over the water or land to the nearest

diocese. The expenses of the journey shall be paid from the revenues of the existing missions, and from other alms on which the monastery will subsist according to the regulations of their Order.

"4. The missions that shall be vacated, those that may be turned into pueblos, and those that may be newly founded, shall be respectively attended by the religious trained in said monasteries. In addition, this class of missionaries may also serve as pastors or chaplains in the pueblos and presidios; and they shall receive a fixed compensation if the community have any funds to pay it, or from the taxes to be imposed according to the needs of each individual.

"5. The government shall regulate the method which must be observed in new missions with regard to catechetical instruction, the management and domestic corrections, and to what point they must recognize the secular authority in the said interior administration of said missions, and under what circumstances and conditions these must be transformed into pueblos.

"6. The Spanish missionaries in charge at present, and who favor the independence and our system of government, shall be enabled to occupy any office in said monasteries; and these as well as the rest that shall profess fidelity to the government shall continue to administer the missions in their care, or any other office in the territory, and shall therefore be exempt from the Law of March 20th, 1829."[6]

This bit of ridiculous legislation, which speaks volumes for the ignorance, audacity, impertinence, and conceit of its perpetrators, was signed by the same individuals that appended their names to Echeandia's plan of confiscation, except Carlos Castro. When the plan reached the Mexican government, it was pigeonholed. Nothing, at all events, was ever again heard of it.

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[6] *Cal. Arch., Leg. Rec.*, vol. i, pp. 321-322. This law directed the expulsion of Spanish priests born in Spain.

On learning that his successor was on the way to assume the office of governor, that he had in fact already reached San Diego, Echeandia, not having heard from the Mexican government on the subject, yet anxious that his scheme should be executed, on January 6, 1831, at Monterey, issued a proclamation declaring all the Missions in California "secularized." Not satisfied with this illegal action, he, on January 10, instructed Lieutenant Zamorano to aid him in converting Mission San Gabriel into a pueblo. The messenger bearing the despatch to San Gabriel had to pass Santa Barbara. Here the new governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Victoria, stopped the arrogant and silly assumption of Echeandia, so that the missions in the south never received the foolish proclamation; and on the way north to Monterey, Victoria countermanded the measure for the missions in that direction.[7]

Comandante Santiago Argüello of San Diego somehow learned that Echeandia had ordered Mission San Gabriel to be "secularized" and turned into a pueblo. Not knowing that Victoria had already countermanded the wicked measure, Argüello under date of January 21, 1831, protested on the ground that the supplies from that Mission were necessary for the maintenance of the garrison at San Diego. "It is plain to the governor," he wrote to Echeandia, "how constantly letters were directed to him which manifested the want in which the garrison languished for lack of provisions and of soap. Even as it is, the want is so great that it is not possible to furnish the rations to the troops, although Mission San Gabriel gives its aid. What shall be done if that relief fails to come? Likewise, it is clear that the supplies this Mission afforded to the cavalry in the way of clothing is beyond computation, for said Mission San Gabriel has annually supplied what was sufficient. At present, only the Missions of San Diego and San Luis Rey supply provisions to this commissariat, because the Mission of San Juan Capistrano has no more to give. The Mission in sterile years can

[7] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 346-349.

scarcely support its neophytes, as has happened in the last two years. Hence it is impossible that one Mission alone could bear the burden of furnishing 950 fanegas of corn which are needed annually, 300 fanegas of beans, 900 pounds of *mantéca* (tallow drippings), $750 worth of soap which this garrison consumes even when proceeding sparingly, not by calculation, but by experience for some years. The lack of provisions is felt so keenly that it exasperates the minds and has been the common cause of the turbulent conditions in the territory, etc."[8]

It is clear, then, that the labor of the neophytes at the Missions, managed by the unselfish friars, saved the soldiers of the whole territory from starvation. Echeandia and the anti-Mission clique knew that very well; but the greed of the paisanos, cultivated by Echeandia, blinded them against their own temporal welfare, let alone the spiritual side of the transaction. They determined, as Pio Pico frankly declared, to wipe out the Mission System which for twenty years had sustained the whole governmental fabric. They wanted to have the goose that laid the golden egg; but did not perceive that by depriving the goose of its life they were depriving themselves of the very eggs they had enjoyed so long. Argüello was not yet so blinded; wherefore he wanted the missions to continue longer, not for the sake of the Indians for whom they had been established and to whom they belonged, but in order that the soldiers might have wherewith to feed and clothe themselves and their numerous families! Argüello's confession is interesting and enlightening.

Victoria's action, which prevented the schemers from securing possession of the missions, angered the clique of land-hungry paisanos and Mexicans. The three arch-plotters, Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, and José Antonio Carrillo, Pico's brother-in-law, on November 29, 1831, at San Diego, issued an insurrectionary proclamation against the new governor. Echeandia, Captain Pablo de la Portilla, Santiago Argüello, José M.

[8] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap.*, vol. iii, pp. 9-14.

Ramirez, Ignacio del Valle, Juan José Rocha, and Andrés Cervantes with the troops joined the conspirators. With only twenty or fewer men, Victoria, accompanied by Ensign Rodrigo del Pliego, set out from Monterey to quell the revolt. At Santa Barbara, José de la Guerra and Captain Romualdo Pacheco with difficulty persuaded the fearless Victoria to increase his little force. Pacheco and a dozen soldiers were then permitted to join him. Probably the governor relied on the fidelity of Captain Portilla at San Diego, but this treacherous officer with 150 men left Los Angeles on December 5, and met the governor's little company a few miles outside the town. Not heeding the overwhelming numbers, Victoria, followed by Pacheco and his men, rushed on the opposing forces. In the encounter, Pacheco was killed and the governor received several wounds which disabled him. On the side of the rebels José M. Avila was killed and a few men were wounded. Thereupon, Portilla and his valiant men ran away. Pico, Echeandia, and Bandini had remained behind. Victoria's guard bore him to Mission San Gabriel. Had it not been for his wounds, Bancroft says, the governor would have retaken Los Angeles without difficulty; and it is by no means unlikely that he could have crushed the rebellion. As it was, Victoria lay at San Gabriel in danger of death and attended by Surgeon Joseph Chapman; while his men, with two or three exceptions, deserted him. There was no possibility of further resistance. So, when out of danger, he sent for Echeandia who had remained in the territory, and, after an interview on December 9, 1831, resigned the command to his adversary. About December 20, sufficiently restored to make the trip, he departed for Mission San Luis Rey, and on January 17, 1832, sailed from San Diego in the American ship *Pocahontas*.[9]

Thereupon, Echeandia immediately summoned the legislative assembly to meet at Los Angeles on January 10, 1832. The resignation of Victoria was approved, and Pio Pico,

[9] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 362-365.

the senior member, was elected governor in accordance with the law of May 6, 1822. Echeandia retained the military command, but was not pleased with this arrangement. He claimed to be the governor. For about twenty days Pico was recognized by the legislature, but after February 16 he laid no claim to the office. Now Captain Augustin V. Zamorano of Monterey, as ranking officer, declared himself the lawful successor of Victoria. In order to avoid bloodshed, it was agreed between them that Echeandia should rule from San Gabriel inclusive to the southern boundary, and that Zamorano, from Mission San Fernando inclusive, should rule the north, until a new governor had been appointed by Mexico.[10] "Echeandia, retreating to San Juan Capistrano," Tuthill writes, "gathered about him many Indians, whom his promises enticed from their work at the Missions, and inaugurated a series of robberies and murders. Other Indians at distant points, especially in the south, revolted. The Indian was free, and he felt that his freedom entitled him to do any violence that might be convenient."[11] Before retiring south, Echeandia's forces composed chiefly of runaway Indians, who idolized that leader on account of the promises he made them, encamped at Mission San Gabriel during the month of April, 1832, thus adding to the sore trials of Fr. Sanchez and of the neophytes who had remained faithful.

At this time, a case came to a close at San Gabriel, which had caused a veritable sensation all over California, notably among the true blooded Spanish circles. It was nothing less than an elopement although nothing like the godless escapades common in modern society. Since nothing of the kind had ever happened in California before, the case was regarded as very scandalous until the facts became public. Henry Fitch, a young ship captain from New England, arrived at San Diego in 1826, and soon fell in love with Josefa, the daughter of Joaquin Carrillo. The affection was reciprocated;

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[10] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 365-366.
[11] *California*, p. 134.

but, as Fitch was a foreigner and non-Catholic, two impediments interfered, one on the part of the Church law, the other on the part of the Spanish State laws. As was usually the case with Americans who had drifted into California, Fitch had no convictions, but only hazy notions about religion, wherefore he soon overcame the first impediment by having himself instructed and admitted into the Catholic Church. Fr. Antonio Menéndez, a Dominican and the chaplain of the garrison, with the permission of the Fathers of Mission San Diego, baptized the candidate at the presidio chapel on April 14, 1829. The entry made by Fr. Vicente Oliva, reads as follows: "No. 6,323. The profession of the Faith and all other requisites having preceded, there was baptized solemnly, etc., an adult of about 25 or 30 years of age, a native of the United States of North America, of the town of New Bedford, son of Beriah Fitch and his wife, Sarah, natives of the same town, who was given the name Enrique Domingo Fitch. Ensign Domingo Carrillo of Santa Barbara stood sponsor."

Although Fitch had declared his intention of becoming a California citizen, he had not yet been naturalized. According to Bancroft, Fr. Menéndez had promised to perform the marriage ceremony in the evening of April 30, which is not probable, but that he backed out when the uncle, Domingo Carrillo, refused to serve as witness. Another story has it that Governor Echeandia forbade the marriage to take place, and that for reasons which reflect on him. He was outwitted by the bride, however, who suggested that Fitch carry her off to some place where the power of Echeandia could not reach them; not to a place, as Bancroft puts it, where the marriage laws of the Catholic Church were not so strict. It so happened that Captain Richard Barry and his wife had arrived at San Diego in their ship the *Vulture*. Both were enlisted and they were happy to help defeat the wily governor. So Pio Pico, the cousin of Josefa, one night took his cousin up on the saddle and carried her swiftly to the bayshore where a boat was waiting to transfer her to the *Vulture*, in the care of Mrs. Barry. Fitch, in his own ship, the *Maria Ester*,

sailed later. Both vessels proceeded to Valparaiso, Chile, where the curate, doubtless after having consulted the Bishop, united the love-sick couple in marriage on the evening of July 3, 1829. Fitch took his bride to New England. The next year on July 30, he arrived with her and his infant son on the *Leonor* at San Diego.

OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS. FRONT VIEW WITH MODERNIZED BELFRY

To be brief, the couple had to appear before the ecclesiastical judge of the territory at San Gabriel, Fr. Presidente José Sanchez, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Sonora, to whose diocese California belonged. The question was regarding the validity of the marriage. While the trial was in progress, Fitch was "imprisoned" at the Mission, that is to

say, he was simply told to stay there,[12] while Josefa was quartered in the house of Captain Cooper. José Palomares, who acted as fiscal or prosecutor, broached various arguments to prove that the marriage was null and void, since it had not been contracted before the lawful pastor, etc. On December 28, 1830, Fr. Presidente rendered his decision, *Christi Nomine invocato,* to the effect that the fiscal had not substantiated his accusations; that a marriage contracted at Valparaiso, though not regular, was not null, but valid; that the parties should be set at liberty; that both man and wife should present themselves at holy Mass the next Sunday for the nuptial blessing, which they had not received at Valparaiso, since they had been married outside holy Mass, and to receive the Sacrament of Penance and Holy Communion, which should have preceded the marriage ceremony; that they must with lighted candles in their hands attend High Mass on three successive days of obligation; that both together were to recite daily the Rosary (five decades) for thirty days. Finally, the wise ecclesiastical judge wound up the case by saying: "Considering the great scandal which Don Enrique has given in this province, I sentence him to donate in penance and reparation a bell of at least fifty pounds in weight for the church at Los Angeles, which barely has a borrowed one."[13] Clarice Garland (Mrs. C. Goodwin of Pasadena, Cal.), a distant relative of Fitch, has woven the material of the episode into a delightful novel, which loses nothing in interest for being historically correct and morally clean.

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12 On January 9, 1831, Fitch writes from San Gabriel to Captain Cooper, denying the rumors current at Santa Barbara that he was doing penance. He said Fr. Sanchez was treating him very well and seemed anxious to let him off as easily as possible.—Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 144.

13 Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 140-144. The contention of the fiscal dated November 17th, and Fr. Sanchez's remonstrance against Echeandia's meddling in a matrimonial case belonging to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical judge, dated November 20, 1831, is in the Santa Barbara Arch.

At his urgent request, the College of San Fernando, Mexico, during the chapter held on May 26, 1830, relieved Fr. Sanchez of the office of Superior of the Missions, and elected Fr. Narciso Duran, who had held the office before Fr. Sanchez. However, the documents did not reach California till June, 1831.

The Mexican government had long desired to replace the Spanish Franciscans with native Mexican friars; and therefore directed the College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, which was composed of native Mexicans, to send missionaries to California. Fr. Francisco Garcia y Moreno, the later Bishop, but at this time Comisario Prefecto of Guadalupe, appointed Fr. Mariano Sosa his vice-commisary and sent him with Fathers Francisco Cuculla, J. M. Martinez, and Antonio Anzar to California, in order to survey the missionary field, and to come to some understanding with Fr. Duran. Traveling by way of the Gulf of California and Lower California, they arrived at San Gabriel sometime in April, 1831. The names of three Fathers appear in the Baptismal Register of the Plaza Church, Los Angeles, at this time. As vice-commissary of the Guadalupe College, Fr. Sosa enjoyed the authority to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. Fr. Duran accordingly permitted him to exercise it during his stay in California. Confirmation had not been conferred since Fr. Lasuen's term of office, twenty-eight years before. Fr. Mariano Sosa confirmed from November 3 to 17, 1831, at both Mission San Gabriel and Our Lady of the Angeles, Los Angeles. Seven hundred and four persons, white and Indian, were confirmed, and William Edward Hartnell, an English convert, who later became inspector of the Missions under Governor Alvarado, headed the list.[14]

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[14] *The Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 407-409.

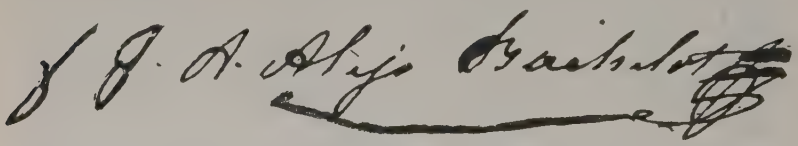
CHAPTER XII

Victims of Sectarian Bigotry.—Hawaiian Kings.—Retribution.—First Resident Pastor of Los Angeles.—Death of Fr. José Sanchez.—Arrival of Fr. Thomas Esténaga.—Guinn's Wild Story.—The Anti-Mission Clique Fears to Lose Some Booty.—Decrees Against the Missions.—Plotting of the Legislature.—Disregard the Mexican Government.—Decree Confiscating the Missions.—Attitude of the Missionaries.—The Inventory.—Fr. Esténaga Disappears.—Returns.—Los Angeles, the Capital of California.—Disgraceful Proceedings.—Mob Law.—Want a New Pastor.—Very Rev. A. J. Bachelot Departs.—New Constitution.—Liquor Selling.

ON January 21, 1832, the brig *Waverly* in command of Captain William Summer, entered the harbor of San Pedro, and landed two passengers on the barren strand, providing them with two bottles of water and one biscuit. Here more than thirty miles from any habitation, save a small hut two miles away, the unfortunate men passed a sleepless night. An Indian, who next morning happened to stroll along the beach in search of shells, discovered them and notified the missionary Father at San Gabriel. Fr. Sanchez cordially welcomed the strangers. It developed that they were the Very Rev. Juan Augusto Alejo Bachelot, Prefect Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands, and the Rev. Patrick Short. Both belonged to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, well known in Europe under the title of Picpus Fathers.

Their appearance in California and the ill treatment they received requires some explanation. In July, 1826, they had been sent from France to preach the Gospel in the Sandwich Islands. Father Bachelot had been named prefect apostolic by Pope Leo XII. On November 17, 1826, both sailed from Bordeaux and arrived at Honolulu (Oahu) on July 7, 1827. They landed next day, and were welcomed by Governor Boki. Unfortunately Boki left the Islands in December, 1829, when the native King Kahuamanu assumed the reins of government. At the instigation of some Presbyterian preachers, who had

preceded the priests on the islands some years, the king forbade Father Bachelot and his companion to make any converts to the Catholic Faith. On August 3, 1831, a royal decree even directed the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries, but the decree for some reasons was not then executed. On December 9, 1831, however, the two Fathers were ordered banished "because their doings are different from ours, and because we cannot agree," as the king stated. On Christmas Day they were put on board the ship *Waverly* from Boston, and thus landed in California. Forty-eight hours later they were welcomed at San Gabriel, and in every way aided to forget the brutalities endured at the hands of un-Christian bigotry. On being notified, Fr. Narciso Duran, the Commissary Prefect of



California, gladly permitted them to exercise the ministry among the inhabitants of Los Angeles. While Father Bachelot remained as the first resident pastor of Our Lady of the Angeles Parish, Father Patrick Short went to Monterey, and with William Hartnell opened a school there. To the regret of the people of Los Angeles, Father Brachelot with Father Short, having learned that conditions on the Sandwich Islands were more favorable, sailed on the *Clementine* in May, 1837, for Honolulu. They landed there on April 17, 1837, but were ordered to leave only two days later. Sectarian fanaticism, however, was as strong as before. Soon King Kamehameha III, even issued a proclamation against them. On May 20 they were arrested, and finally put on board a ship. They landed again, and seem to have held their ground till October, when Father Short sailed for Valparaiso, apparently for the purpose to have the Superior of the Society there bring Father Bachelot away. The Rev. Louis Maigret of the Society thereupon sailed for Honolulu, but was not allowed to land when he reached the port on November 2nd. He thereupon purchased

the small thirty-nine ton vessel *Honolulu,* whereupon, November 23, 1837, both departed. On the voyage the poor sufferer for the Faith, Father Bachelot, now exhausted, emaciated, enfeebled and his reason impaired, died aboard the ship eleven days after bidding ungrateful Honolulu his last farewell. The body was interred on the Island of the Assumption, where an humble monument marked the grave.

Retribution, as usual, overtook the persecutors. A later king was himself expelled, and the country finally came under the flag of the United States. Father Louis Maigret, who was not permitted to land in 1837, in 1847 became the first Vicar Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands, and resided at Honolulu as Titular Bishop of Arathia. As such he was enabled to help out the successor of Fr. Narciso Duran by sending over in 1850 several priests of the Society, who attended San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Inés, and San Francisco. In fact they started the first school in Los Angeles. It is pleasant to note that the imported sectarian bigots, who believed they could prevent Catholicity from gaining a foothold in the Hawaiian Islands, had to learn that their victims were replaced in remarkable numbers, as the *Catholic Directory* demonstrates.

Only one year later Mission San Gabriel suffered a great loss through the death of good Fr. José Bernardo Sanchez, which occurred on January 5, 1833. The kindly and zealous missionary thus escaped witnessing the havoc produced by the confiscation of the property which the industry of the neophytes had accumulated for themselves and their families. The biographical sketch of Fr. Sanchez will be found in the last chapter of the Mission Period.

Fortunately the neophytes needed not remain orphans very long, and this happy outcome was due to the silly nationalism then rampant in Mexico. The Mexican government pretended to believe that a priest, and a friar at that, who as a child had been rocked to sleep outside of Mexico, notably in Spain, could not or would not be loyal to the civil authorities, which of itself shows how little Religion the Mexican demagogues pos-

sessed, and how disloyal they were toward Divine Authority. Christ Himself and the Apostles would have been barred out of Mexico in consequence. The Mexican government accordingly requested the Franciscan missionary College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, to assume the management of the California Missions. The Fr. Guardian and councillors of the College, whose members were all native Mexicans, therefore, sent over four friars to examine the situation in California. Their names are given in the preceding chapter. On their return to Mexico, the Superiors of the College informed the Supreme Government that they could spare no more than ten friars, who would take charge of as many Missions in the north of the territory. Hence it was that on January 15, 1833, in company of José Figueroa, the new governor, nine Franciscans landed at Monterey. One had preceded them and was at San Luis Rey. The Mexican Fathers assumed control of the Missions from San Antonio to Sonoma, and thus released a like number of Fernandinos Franciscans, who being mostly Spaniards hailed from the College of San Fernando, Mexico. Hence it was that the energetic, and no less pious, Fr. Thomas Esténaga of Mission San Francisco de Asís, by order of Fr. Presidente Duran, became resident missionary of San Gabriel. Fr. Duran himself from Mission San José retired to Mission Santa Barbara.

Fr. Esténaga's administration was destined to be an eventful one, and ere long he received a taste of the cup of bitterness which he had to drain many times during the next fourteen years before the Angel of Eternal Peace beckoned him to follow. The first shock came through a not unusual transaction which the lack of Indian laborers and the needs of the neophytes forced upon him. As Mission enemies have used the incident to injure the good name of the missionaries, we relate what happened.

Early in February, 1834, a certain Francisco Villa made a contract with Fr. Esténaga for the slaughter of Mission cattle. In compensation he was to receive one-half of the hides of animals slaughtered. This was nothing unusual, it appears,

since a similar contract was given to Pio Pico for the slaughter of cattle at Mission San Luis Rey. About 5,000 cattle were killed by Pico, and about the same number were slaughtered for the hides at San Gabriel. That, however, was the extent of the transaction in California, as no general slaughter took place anywhere else. Yet J. M. Guinn, of Los Angeles, the author of an eleven-pound so-called County History of *Southern California* relieves himself on the subject of this sensational nonsence as follows:

"In the meantime, with the energy born of despair, eager at any cost to outwit those who sought to profit by their ruin, the mission Fathers hastened to destroy that which through more than half a century thousands of human beings had spent their lives to accumulate. Hitherto cattle had been killed only as their meat was needed, or, at intervals, perhaps, for the hides and tallow alone, when an overplus of stock rendered such action necessary. Now they were slaughtered in herds by contract on equal shares with any one who would undertake the task. It is claimed by some writers that not less than 100,000 head of cattle were thus slain from the herds of San Gabriel alone. The same work of destruction was in progress at every other mission throughout the territory, and this vast country from end to end, was become a mighty shambles, drenched in blood and reeking with the odor of decaying carcasses."[1]

Guinn's statement is pure fiction. Mission San Gabriel never possessed more than 26,300 head of cattle in any one year. How then could 100,000 be slaughtered? In 1834, the year which is credited with the great slaughter, Mission San Gabriel owned no more than 16,500 head of cattle; for in 1832, the last year of which we have any official record, San Gabriel possessed 16,500 head of cattle. They had been decreasing from various causes since 1828. How then could an even 100,000 be slaughtered?

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[1] See *The Missions,* etc., vol. iii; Appendix K.

The very rumor of an unusual slaughter caused a great outcry among the paisano chiefs, who insisted that the timid Governor Figueroa call the missionaries to an account for the wanton killing of cattle. They were afraid that the booty, which they expected to enjoy ere long, would escape them or be materially lessened. On June 16, 1834, therefore, Figueroa informed the Fathers concerned of the act of the legislature of June 12, which forbade the unnecessary slaughter of Mission cattle.[2]

The reply of only Fr. Vicente de Oliva of San Luis Rey is extant, but as the case of both Missions are similar, the governor will have received a similar reply from Fr. Esténaga of San Gabriel. Under date of July 2nd, Fr. Oliva wrote to the governor, that only the old, wild, or unbranded cattle had been slaughtered on shares in order to pay debts contracted for clothing the neophytes; and that therefore he expected the governor would allow the killing of cattle for such purposes, etc.[3]

It is pleasant to note that the governor in July wrote on the margin of Fr. Oliva's letter that the Father might continue such slaughter for such purposes. Doubtless Fr. Esténaga received a similar notification. Wanton destruction of Mission property was accomplished by the Mission enemies, but to accuse the missionaries of such a deed manifests either malice or culpable ignorance. However, the clique headed by Pio Pico were determined to secure the lands cultivated and rendered fertile by the neophytes. This charge of the unscrupulous legislators was but the beginning of a line of attacks against the missionaries. For details we must refer the reader to our larger work, notably volumes three and four.

On August 17, 1833, a Mexican rump congress, in the absence of President Santa Anna, passed a decree "secularizing" the California Missions, which property the Mexican Government

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[2] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Los Angeles, Decrees,* etc., vol. vi, p. 133.

[3] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Los Angeles, Pref. y Juzg.*, pp. 787-789.

on October 19, 1831, declared *"has never been and must not be looked upon as the property of the public domain."*[4] The Mexican decree did not go far enough, as it left the property in the hands of the neophytes who had accumulated it. Therefore the California legislature, composed of the following seven members: Carlos A. Carillo, José Ant. Carrillo, José Castro, José Ant. Estudillo, Francisco de Haro, Joaquin Ortega, and Pio Pico, Juan B. Alvarado acting as secretary, on August 2, 1834, adopted Figueroa's *Reglamento Provisional* for the "secularization" (confiscation) of the Missions. Bancroft calls the act a *trick*[5] since the governor very well knew that he and his legislature had no authority whatever to pass such a measure without the sanction of the Mexican Government. The latter not only did not approve of it, but repudiated the *Reglamento* on November 7, 1835.[6] Mexico was far away, however, and so the young paisano would-be-statesmen simply went to work at once discharging the unsalaried missionaries and put in their places salaried henchmen. As there was no court in the territory to stop them, the plunder went right on to the amazement of the neophytes who had thought they were laboring for their own benefit, and now saw that what they had accumulated went into hands that had done nothing to create it. Missions the world over are assisted and protected in every way possible; here in California at that time they were robbed, the neophytes made servants of the hired administrators, and the missionaries were made homeless, or placed at the mercy of the hired administrators. Missions are held sacred, but in the eyes of the California robbers they were just national property to be disposed of for the benefit of intruders.

The confiscation decree was promulgated on August 9th. A supplementary decree of November 3, 1834, declared Mission San Gabriel a curacy of the first class with a salary of $1,500

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[4] See *The Missions,* etc., vol. iv, p. 26.

[5] See *The Missions,* etc., vol. ii, p. 523.

[6] See *The Missions,* etc., vol. iv, p. 6.

to be paid from the proceeds of the labor of the unhappy Indians. The Franciscans, however, declined both title and salary. They would not permit themselves to be regarded as mere curates. They were missionaries whose standing could not be regulated by young upstarts, because that was a matter which pertained exclusively to ecclesiastical authority.[7]

Without waiting for the approval of the Mexican Government, the territorial masters hastened to complete the seizure of the Mission property by appointing commissioners, who were to take over the Mission management and control the affairs of the Missions until regular administrator should be installed. The commissioner named for Mission San Gabriel was Col. Nicolas Gutiérrez. Though a Spaniard by birth, he allowed himself to be used in the iniquitous transaction without reluctance, it appears. In fact not one of those appointed to confiscate the Missions declined to serve, which shows how low in California the sense of justice and fairness to the Indians had fallen, not to speak of the religious aspect of the matter. At San Gabriel an inventory was compiled early in November, 1834, and signed by both Gutiérrez and Fr. Thomas Esténaga. This does not mean that the missionary recognized the lawfulness of the proceedings; but, there being no court of appeals, and the Mexican Government too far away, yielding to force, which would have been exercised, the Fr. Comisário of the Missions authorized the friars subject to him to surrender the Mission management to the commissioner and to insist on a written receipt of all that was ceded. This inventory was signed on November 14, 1834. From that date Gutiérrez was in charge. He continued in office till January, 1836. No details are extant of his administration, nor of that of his successor, Juan José Rocha.

The inventory drawn up in November, 1834, seems to have perished; hence there is little on record about the valuation of the Mission property, and none about the contents of the

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[7] See for the text of both "laws" *The Missions,* vol. iii, pp. 523-532.

church and vestry, for these, too, the irreligious territorial governor had ordered inventoried and a price put on all the sacred vessels and other church goods. A memorandum seems to have been made of the property at the time of the confiscation which reads as follows:

1 weaving room for weaving woolen cloth, with four looms;
1 room for making brandy, with four stills;
1 room for pressing wine, with three wine presses;
1 forge or smithy;
1 structure for making soap;
2 water mills; one distant about half a league and the other in front of the Mission;
163,578 vines, in four vineyards;
2,333 fruit trees, in nine orchards;
12,980 head of cattle, 6,548 sheep, 2,938 horses; cattle loaned to various individuals, 4,443 head.
The library of the Father contained 227 volumes;
The Indian population of the Mission comprised 1,323 souls. Of these 1,000 were dwelling within the limits of the Mission district, while the rest lived at the Rancho of San Bernardino.
Assets of the Mission—$11,154.12;
Debts of the Mission—$8,271.75.
Artillery belonging to the Mission of San Gabriel:
2 canones de a 4 mortales en medias;
1 canon de fierro de a 2;
3 pedreros de fierro de a 2;
1 canon de a 4 (prestado al ayuntamiento de Los Angeles.[8]

The surrender of the management made the missionary practically homeless. A room or two was assigned him, and he was supposed to take his meals at the table of the administrator and his numerous family. How Fr. Esténaga fared under such unwonted and unworthy circumstances he failed to relate, but Fr. Presidente Duran, somewhat more favorably situated at Santa Barbara, summed up his experiences and those of the other friars as follows: "The administrators have placed in our very houses their numerous families of women, crying and turbulent children, and a multitude of relatives,

[8] *Cal. Arch. St. Pap., Missions,* vol. vi, pp. 12-15.

who all make an unbearable racket. . . . The first step should be to drive from houses the administrators who now have possession of the quarters which our brethren occupied . . . and to rid us of these parasite administrators who have caused more ruin and evils than a cloud of Cossacks." This was written to the Fr. Guardian in Mexico for transmission to the Supreme Government. The latter heeded the complaint too late to save the property when it sent Governor Manuel Micheltorena to California.

How far the complaints apply to San Gabriel, we do not know; but only nine months after the surrender, toward the end of July, 1835, Fr. Esténaga saw that all his efforts to benefit the people spiritually were so useless, and the total ruin of the temporalities was approaching so rapidly that he grew despondent and distracted. One morning the few loyal souls entered the church for holy Mass, but the priest failed to appear. Nor was he there to celebrate holy Mass and give the Sunday instruction. Thoroughly alarmed a search was made, but in vain. Then the news came that Fr. Francisco Ibárra of Mission San Fernando had disappeared. Messengers hastened to inform Fr. Duran, who directed Fr. Pedro Cabot to take charge of Mission San Fernando, and the Very Rev. J. A. Bachelot of Los Angeles would attend San Gabriel. It was a serious matter for a friar to leave his post before the expiration of his ten years of service, and then for his College only. Both had served more than ten years, but they should have notified the Fr. Presidente. However, they had informed Fr. Duran from their place of refuge; and good Fr. Duran understood, sympathized, and made allowance. In the same letter mentioned above, on September 25, 1837, Fr. Duran reported the action of the two as follows: "Fr. Francisco Ibárra of San Fernando, and Fr. Thomas Esténaga of San Gabriel fled to Sonora, because they found the conditions at their Missions under the insolent administrators unbearable. In pity I sent them a formal permit lest they be regarded as apostates from the Order. On hearing of the decree of

November 7, 1835 (which repealed the anti-Mission laws and restored the neophytes and their property to the care of the friars), they have returned; but since they see there is no hope that said law will be executed, and now having their permit, they wish to leave, I do not know for which place. I cannot and will not detain them to submit to a life of such wretchedness." In the end both Fathers decided not to use their permit. Pity for the neophytes caused Fr. Ibárra to suffer a slow martyrdom at San Luis Rey under Pio Pico's management, and Fr. Esténaga, less unfortunate than his companion, to stay at San Gabriel. (For details see *The Missions,* vol. iv., 102-115, and *Mission San Luis Rey.*)

We must now for a while turn our attention to the Mission's turbulent neighbor. Through the efforts of José Antonio Carrillo, the delegate from California, a decree, which concerned Los Angeles very much, passed the Mexican Congress and was published at the Capital of the Nation in 1835. It read as follows: "The President of Mexican States to the inhabitants of the Republic.—Be it known that the Congress General has decreed as follows: The Pueblo of Los Angeles in Alta California is raised to the rank of a City, and will for the future be the capital of this territory. Wherefore I command, etc., Mexico May 23, 1835.—Miguel Barragan, President."[9] This decree was not officially published in California until the month of December, but the news arrived that such a change was in contemplation. The effect at Monterey may be imagined, since it had always been the capital from the time of discovery in 1770. Governor José Figueroa died at Monterey on September 29, 1835. Nicolas Gutiérrez, who managed Mission San Gabriel since the confiscation in November, 1834, became military commander and on January 2, 1836, also temporary civil governor of California. Two days after his accession to the office he officially published the decree

9 "Que se erige en ciudad el pueblo de Los Angeles de la Alta, California, y será en succesivo la Capital de este Territorio."—*Cal. Arch. Dept. St. Pap., Mont,* vol. iii, p. 199.

making Los Angeles the capital. In February some efforts were made to secure suitable buildings for the temporary use of the government in the new capital; but, says Bancroft, the Angeleños were so lacking in public spirit that no citizen would furnish a building rent free, as the governor required, and the matter dropped out of sight for more than a year.[10]

"All the same," Bancroft continues, "Los Angeles soon distinguished(?) itself by producing the first California vigilance committee." Domingo Felix, who lived on the rancho bearing his name, near the town, was married to Maria del Rosario Villa, who had abandoned her husband to become the mistress of a Sonoran vaquero, named Gervasio Alipas. After two years of frequent efforts to reclaim the shameless woman, * * * Felix invoked the aid of the authorities. The wife was arrested at San Gabriel and brought to town on March 24, 1836. Through the efforts of the alcalde and of friends, she was induced to return to her husband, though Alipas and his brother threatened vengeance. Two days later, the couple started for their rancho, but on the way the husband was stabbed by Alipas. The body was dragged by the murderer and the woman to a ravine, where it was partly covered with earth and leaves. On March 29, the remains were discovered and the murderers were put in jail. Owing to several previous murders, which had been committed, the excitement ran high and, when all the facts became known, the indignation of the people knew no bounds. On April 7, an organized mob of fifty-five citizens, including fourteen foreigners, headed by the Frenchman Victor Prudon, Manuel Arzaga, and Francisco Araujo, broke into the jail, dragged the criminals out, gave them a "trial," found them guilty, and shot them, the man at 4:30 p. m., the woman half an hour later. Such, in brief, is the story of the first lynching or lawless execution in California.

According to Bancroft, while the mob was organizing, two messengers were sent to bring Fr. Pedro Cabot from Mission

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[10] Bancroft, *California*, vol. iii, p. 292-293, 417.

San Fernando, under the pretext that a dying Indian needed his spiritual assistance, but the Father refused to come on account of bad weather. (?) In the *Hesperian*,[11] a certain Mrs. F. H. Day reports somewhat differently. She writes: "The Father of San Fernando Mission was twice sent for and requested to appear in the Pueblo at a certain hour the following day to hear the confession of the two murderers. The Padre, supposing that the execution would not take place for want of the opportunity of confession, and considering that such an awful mode of doing justice was never heard of in a Christian country, purposely forebore to appear at the time appointed, and the vigilance decision was carried out under the military (?) law, with great solemnity by the citizens."

All this sounds highly improbable. Just why Fr. Cabot should be called is a mystery. Los Angeles, at the time, had a resident pastor, the Very Rev. Alejo Bachelot. Fr. Cabot quite properly declined to heed the call, not because of bad weather, of course, but because Los Angeles lay not within his jurisdiction.

On consulting the Baptismal Register of Los Angeles, we find that Fr. Pedro Cabot baptized, with the permission of the Fathers of Mission San Gabriel, on April 3, 8, 9, of that same year, 1836. Hence he was there on the day after the execution and did not refuse to come. Probabilities are that the frenzied mob was in too great a hurry to execute their lawless plan, and therefore the Father came too late. This does not explain, however, why the mob had not applied to the regular pastor. Fr. Cabot appears to have been in ill health, too, for he died that same year at San Fernando, on October 11.

The composition of the mob may be inferred from the character of the leaders. Victor Prudon, whose real name was Prudhomme, was a Frenchman and most likely an infidel.

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11 Vol. ii, p. 150, June, 1859.

He had come up from Mexico a member of the Hijar-Padres-Bandini swindling company, which was organized to take control of all the missions.[12] In 1858, in open court, he with others was declared a perjurer by Judge Hoffman of the United States District Court in San Francisco.[13] "Manuel Arzaga, in 1837, was living with the wife of a man absent at Guaymas," Bancroft writes. "By advice of Padre Duran, the alcalde ordered the guilty couple to be parted, the woman to be delivered to P. Esténaga at the Mission, until her husband should come, and Arzaga to be sent to San Diego and closely watched. The two managed to meet again, and at the padre's complaint new orders were issued in November."[14]

Alvarado, the inglorious governor of California, in his *Historia* dictated to Bancroft,[15] writes about the two victims: "Burial was given them in some convenient place; for in the Catholic cemetery (in 1836 there was yet in California no Protestant cemetery) persons could not be interred who had not been assisted at death by a minister of the Altar; and these before their death had not received absolution of their sins," a fate which to a Catholic is far more dreadful than a violent death, in this case the more so as the couple belonged to the degraded and ignorant class that avoids the instructions as well as the ministrations of a priest.

In the same year the Catholics of Los Angeles applied to Fr. Comisário Prefecto Narciso Duran for another pastor, at the same time expressing their wish that Fr. Blas Ordaz be sent to them. Fr. Duran allowed the Father to take charge if he desired. In reply, under date of April 27, 1836, Fr. Ordaz wrote as follows:

"My Esteemed Prelate and Señor: "I received the letter of Your Reverence including the Representacion which the

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[12] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 507-512.

[13] See Hittéll, *California,* vol. iii, p. 697-698.

[14] Bancroft, *California,* vol. iii, p. 638.

[15] Ibidem, p. 67.

Illustrious Town Council of the City of Los Angeles makes with regard to the choice of my person as pastor of that community. I can do no less than manifest to Your Reverence that I consider myself too useless and without strength to have placed upon me so heavy and responsible a burden. Besides, the pains which I suffer in my chest entirely incapacitate me to attend duly to so many and so distant ranches whither at any moment I should have to bring the spiritual consolations to the sick, which would deprive me of my health and perhaps expose me to lose my life. Therefore I hope that Your Reverence may have the goodness to notify the Illustrious Town Council and the community of what I have related to you, and letting them see that it is impossible for me to accept the proposal. Yours, etc. Fr. Blas Ordaz."[16]

On October 23, 1835, Mexico substituted another Constitution for the one which the handful of selfish politicians had concocted in 1824; but this one, too, was backed by only a handful of other selfish politicians. It was not the voice of the people. Mariano Chico, the new governor, appointed on December 16, 1835, immediately took steps to have the citizens swear allegiance to it. This was done at San Gabriel on June 1, 1836.[17]

Los Angeles was now to lose its acting pastor, the Very Rev. Alejo Bachelot, who had received notice that he might resume his position of apostolic prefect of the Sandwich Islands. He baptized for the last time at Mission San Gabriel, where he assisted Fr. Thomas Esténaga as occasion required, on March 27, 1836. The entry was Number 8,072 in the Register. At Los Angeles he officiated at a Baptism for the last time on March 22, 1837. This was Number 672 in the Register. After that, poor Fr. Thomas had charge of the dying Mission and of the parish of Los Angeles. No other name appears until February 9, 1843, when Fr. Blas Ordaz

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16 *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol. v, p. 155.

17 *Cal. Arch., St. Pap.,* vol. iv, pp. 265-267.

baptized and again on March 5, 1843. At San Gabriel Fr. Esténaga's name alone appears until December 28, 1846.

A significant note in Bancroft reads: "1838. November 11. Nine keepers of shops petition for the privilege of selling liquor on feast days after the *Toque de las Animas,*[18] as the only means of gaining a living, so dull was the trade."[19] In the following year, a decree was issued against the sale of liquors on feast days. Los Angeles at this period, 1830-1840, and later, was anything but a clean town morally, and murders there were not infrequent. The reader is referred to Bancroft's third volume for instances.

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[18] Ringing of the Poor Souls' Bell, about 8 p. m.

[19] Bancroft, *California,* vol. iii, p. 648.

CHAPTER XIII

The Difference Between Missionary and Administrator Rule.—The Results.—Juan Bandini's Administration..—Must Taste His Own Medicine.—William Hartnell, Inspector.—What He Saw and Did.—Only Six Years After.—Poor Fr. Esténaga Witnesses the Havoc.—Entertainments at Neophyte Expense.—Fr. Narciso Duran.—Fr. Esténaga Again.—Bandini Reports.—Lupanares de los Mayordomos.—Fr. Esténaga Heartsick.—Notes.—Mofras and His Figures.

AT Mission San Gabriel, now out of the hands of the friars who had created it together with the Indians and for the Indians only, Gutiérrez, promoted to the governorship of California, turned the management of the temporalities and of the neophytes over to the newly-appointed administrator or majordomo Juan José Rocha, who took charge in February, 1836. The neophytes had to live and labor in community as before. The difference was material, however. Under the friars, as already pointed out, the neophytes labored as children and heirs to the property they would control on coming of age, which would take place when they had proved their efficiency. The estate would not be encumbered save for their own necessities, as the lawful guardians, the missionaries, served without compensation. With the accession of the administrators the first object was to provide for the salary of this hired manager. He also had a clerk, whose salary must likewise be attended to before any other expense could be made for anything. The missionary was assigned a salary for his maintenance. Even if he refused it out of pity for the neophytes, he would have to pay board for eating at the table of the administrator. That much must come from the labor of the Indians as well. Then there was another material change: the neophytes were not laboring in the hope of some time securing the property they inherited; for all the Mission property was declared to belong to the Nation, which might and might not have them share in a portion of

the property as would suit the political rulers. Hence the Indians were not any more regarded as legal heirs, but as slaves indeed. In keeping with this idea was the whole treatment accorded the neophytes. They were free, however, to exercise their religious duties or to neglect them. Of course, with the example of so many worthless paisanos and Mexicans before them, the unruly among the Indians availed themselves of the opportunities to gratify themselves to their hearts' content. The wiser heads and the virtuous among the neophytes continued to listen to the missionary and with him hoped against hope for better times under saner rulers.

The consequence of the change, letting alone for the present the religious side of it, soon became manifest. At the time of the transfer, 1834, the Mission owned 16,500 head of cattle. At the end of 1840, after only six years of hireling rule, fewer than one hundred cattle were left! We shall let Bancroft, an enemy of the missionaries on general principles, continue the story of this phase of Mission destruction.

"Rocha was succeeded in 1837 by José C. Perez, and he by Juan Bandini probably in 1838. Nothing is known in detail of the administrations of these men, but in the middle of 1839 the mission had still 1,700 horses, 1,100 cattle, and 1,000 sheep. Local events in these years are swallowed up in the maelstrom of political doings at Los Angeles. In 1839-1840 we have the visits of Visitador Hartnell, and the transfer of the estate from Bandini to Father Esténaga. Livestock now included 72 head of cattle and 700 sheep, yet Don Juan claimed to have done much for the welfare of the ex-mission!"[1]

Bandini had helped to make the Indians dissatisfied with their condition under the Fathers; a time came when they openly showed their displeasure with him, and his management. "On Sunday," Bandini reported but forgot the date, "after Mass the Indians of this establishment tumultuously presented themselves telling me that they wanted the mayor-

[1] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 644-645.

domos removed, and that it was their right to name the mayordomos. To this action I believed they had been induced, since they continued their malicious intent. They demanded also that I give account of what I did. I resisted energetically and showed them that the government alone was to be obeyed by me. I showed them that without mayordomos it was not possible to preserve and promote their interests. I reproved them severely for their secret meetings which they held at night, saying that the government would punish them and their acts; that I would hear their complaints, whereupon the government itself would ordain what was expedient. With that they departed but they are not to be trusted. . . . Juan Bandini."[2] Bandini was receiving a dose of his own medicine. As a member of the Pio Pico clique he had antagonized the missionaries instead of aiding and encouraging them. The Indians now were applying to him what he had taught them. Pico at San Luis Rey made the same experience. Before Echeandia and the land-hungry paisanos interfered, the Indians were contented and industrious, and their property safeguarded. When the poor neophytes contemplated the 70 head of cattle in 1840, and remembered that in 1834 their Mission, that is, they themselves owned 16,500 head, they must have been very obtuse, indeed, not to perceive who was at fault. The Fathers, first and last and always, looked to the needs of the Indians and required nothing for themselves. Now, superfluous officials were foisted upon the Mission; and these, first and last and always, saw to it that their salaries were safe. The 70 surviving head of cattle told a terrible tale, which could be grasped by even the dull understanding of the neophytes. Before the meddling of the military, the Indians never lacked clothing or anything else. Only five years of hireling rule impoverished the once happy and wealthy homes! The salaries of the superfluous officials would have sufficed to keep the Indians in clothing, while the management

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[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, pp. 150-153.

would have been more economical withal. When his salary and the wages of the hirelings had been collected, then first did Bandini bethink himself of the needs of the Indians. On June 15, 1839, he wrote to Inspector William Hartnell, "and described the nakedness of the Indians. He asked for authority to secure a loan of two or three thousand dollars, which was to be refunded from the sale of brandy, wine, and other goods at the coming harvest."[3]

Hartnell granted the request; but on June 17, 1839, reported to Governor Alvarado: "The administrator of Mission San Gabriel, under date of June 15, tells me what follows: 'You will excuse me for informing you on the state in which the community of San Gabriel is, for you yourself have been witness to the good will with which the neophytes continue their work. It is therefore painful to behold that this good disposition is rendered useless by force of what they experience. On various occasions their alcaldes have represented to me that some Indian men and also some Indian women do not participate in work on account of the lack of clothing to cover themselves. Knowing this to be the case, I was compelled to dissimulate when the Indians failed to appear at their tasks and who excused themselves from work; and as it is plain that the want is increasing, I hope it may please you to permit negotiating a loan of two or three thousand dollars for clothing, to be paid in brandy or wine at the coming harvest, or in other goods produced by the establishment. May it please you to consider the harm that might result from obliging these Indians to labor without having wherewith to cover themselves, etc. Juan Bandini." In this same communication, Bandini notes that he is in charge also of a water mill which grinds the wheat of the Mission; but he gives no particulars.[4]

"In view of the justice of the petition of this administrator," Hartnell reported to Alvarado's secretary, Manuel

[3] *Papeles Originales, Missions,* vol. ii, pp. 889-890. Banc. Coll.
[4] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Mis.,* vol. xi, p. 69. Banc. Coll.

Jimeno, "I granted him permission to negotiate a loan to the amount of $2,000 for the purpose named, but subjecting him nevertheless to the restrictions which I deemed expedient. I communicate this to you in order that you may bring it to the knowledge of his Excellency, the Governor, in the hope that it will be in accord with his will. At the same time please have the kindness to notify the governor that I have given permission to the same administrator for the slaughter of one hundred head of cattle for the purpose chiefly of making soap."[5]

On December 31, 1839, Bandini reported: "This day were distributed among 233 Indian men and women various articles of clothing of woolen and cotton cloth, handkerchiefs, etc., to the value of $1,615."[6]

Hartnell had visited the Mission in the middle of June, 1839. A month later, as though the Mission were not already burdened enough with salaried individuals, Bandini appointed Rafael Guirardo as clerk at $15 a month.[7]

Only six months later, about the middle of January, 1840, Fr. Esténaga, whose position will be appreciated, gave vent to his grief for the Indians. Let us hear the official report from Fr. Duran himself. On January 14, 1840, he writes to Hartnell:

"Yesterday I received a letter from Fr. Tomás (Esténaga) who, speaking of San Gabriel, writes as follows: 'The administrator, Don Juan Bandini, assured me that through the whole of February he will with his entire family be at his ranch which comprises five sites and which were granted him by the government. Thank Heaven, at this Mission there is still some bread, though not every day; a little meat, but only for the noon meal; and some wine and brandy; but there is nothing else; and just now the holy family of Santiago

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[5] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol v, pp. 446-448.

[6] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap. Mis.,* vol. vi, pp. 42-43.

[7] Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 645.

"JUST NOW THE HOLY FAMILY OF SANTIAGO ARGUELLO AND THAT OF THE ESTUDILLOS ARE ARRIVING. THAT WILL MAKE PROVISIONS MORE SCARCE"

Argüello[8] and that of the Estudillos are arriving. That will make the provisions still more scarce. During the last two months, the mother of the three Picos,[9] with her daughter, cousin, niece, grandchildren, male and female servants, have occupied the Mission in grand style. In addition came Señora Luisa, the wife of Agustin Zamorano, with her six or seven children. Right now, two carts filled with *turba magna* have arrived to give greater consolation to the poor Mission and to its padre ministro."

In a postscript, Fr. Esténaga tells the Fr. Comisário Prefecto that "two more carts with Indian male and female servants have arrived, and the dying Mission is expected to feed them all! This truly is a fine way of proceeding."

In transmitting Fr. Esténaga"s letter to Inspector Hartnell, Fr. Duran writes:

"Now I ask what has Señor Bandini effected with all his boasted activity? Why has he not purchased some cattle with the abundant profit which he has received? The most incompetent friar would by this time have two or three thousand head of cattle. Let us see whether under the new regulations[10] the Missions will improve much, and whether the missionaries will receive better assistance.[11]

About three weeks later Fr. Esténaga reported from San Gabriel:

"Thirty-eight white people must be maintained and are at home at this Mission, not counting the male and female servants of the Mission nor those of the Argüellos, Estudillos and the whole brood. This evening Señor Bandini made a revelation to me. He said that there was not a tallow candle on hand with which to make a light, not tallow enough to make

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[8] He had twenty-two children.

[9] José Antonio, Pio, and Andrés.

[10] These were issued after Hartnell had reported to Alvarado on the state of the confiscated missions. See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 163-169.

[11] *See Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 160-162.

a candle, nor have the few cattle at the Mission any in reality, i. e., they are so lean. What will happen in time if we are to continue thus?" To this Fr. Duran added the remark: "What a scandal! What an honor for secularization! What a tremendous responsibility for its authors!" Fr. Duran, February 15, 1840, to Hartnell.[12]

On March 23, 1840, Juan Bandini reported to Hartnell this interesting item regarding the Mission gardens: "If I make special mention of orange orchard, it is because I believe that today it deserves the glory of a precious monument in Alta California; for it is the only one which exists bearing this fruit. Mindful of the care it requires, I have paid especial attention to it and have planted one hundred additional trees of a good class."[13] It must be observed here that Bandini did not introduce the oranges. The grove was planted by the missionaries.

The utter unselfishness of the missionary Fathers is again instanced by Fr. Esténaga. On September 24, 1840, he writes to Hartnell:

"I have received $900 of what is due me according to the allotment.[14] On an occasion when I met Don Antonio Aguirre in the roadstead of San Pedro on his *Joven Guipuzcuana,* I resolved to invest said amount in goods suitable and appropriate to cover the bodies (desnudez) of these poor unfortunates (neophytes), who are in the greatest need of clothing, and added to this $1,000 more from my allowance for the same purpose, since in nothing the Mission is thereby burdened."[15]

As the missionaries had only spiritual control over the Indians and, of course, only over such as would heed them,

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[12] *The Missions,* vol. iv, p. 163.

[13] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. vi, p. 42. Banc. Coll.

[14] Allotted to the respective missionary for his maintenance as priest in charge by the territorial assembly when the missions were confiscated. The Friars used the so-called salary for the neophytes, just as they had used the former stipends.

[15] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap.,* vol. xi, p. 623.

whereas the enforcement of divine and human laws lay in the hands of indifferent and sometimes vicious hirelings, the situation pictured by Santiago Argüello, then prefect of the southern district with headquarters at Los Angeles, need not surprise anyone who is aware of the character of the whites that inhabited the towns and presidios of California in the early days. Argüello, in 1841, without specifying the date, wrote to José de la Guerra of Santa Barbara on the state of the morals at Los Angeles, San Gabriel, and the ex-Mission of San Juan Capistrano:

"It has cost me a good deal to compose the many matrimonial cases here. What I have accomplished I recognize to be only apparent success; but at least one hears no more complaints. You tell me about scandalous things, and ask why I do not cast an eye on the unhappy Missions of San Gabriel and San Juan Capistrano. They have been transformed into *lupanares de los mayordomos.* Formerly, the objects of criticism were the numerous families that occupied the Mission. Now it is occupied by the most *refinada prostitucion.* Fr. Tomas Esténaga has already known, although late, but he has not yet discovered a means of delivering himself of the evil, as he has explained to me. However, as they are independent persons, I speak of the mayordomos, he has turned to the governor."[16]

On February 23, 1841, Fr. Esténaga petitioned Governor Alvarado to discharge Juan Perez, the mayordomo, because he was wasting the property of the Mission, and to appoint Don Bernardino Girado in his place.[17]

In March and April, Fr. Esténaga complained against one Ibarra for occupying land that belonged to the Mission; and again on May 10, 1841, for the same reason.[18]

Before Hartnell, out of sheer disgust, resigned the position of Inspector of the Missions, he received from Fr. Comi-

[16] *De la Guerra Papers,* vol. vii, pp. 82-83. Banc. Coll.

[17] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap.,* vol. v, pp. 302-303.

[18] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Los Angeles, Pref. y Juzg.,* vol. i, pp. 250-251; vol. vi, p. 151.

sario Duran a protest against the giving away of land of Mission San Gabriel. Santiago Argüello, really one of the better class of paisanos, seems to have been insatiable. "I am told," Fr. Duran wrote to Hartnell, "that the site of Mission Vieja has been granted to Don Santiago Argüello, thereby taking it from a neophyte to whom a previous government had conceded it. I can scarcely believe such a thing. If it is true, I shall protest before the higher government and shall ask restitution in *integrum* for better times, if God should give them.—May 4, 1840. Fr. Narciso Duran."[19]

The following letter reveals another result of administrator rule. It also explains why Fr. Esténaga was busying himself about the temporalities of the Mission. It was addressed directly to Inspector Hartnell, but sent to Fr. Duran for transmission to Hartnell. Fr. Duran, on January 17, 1840, adds that Fr. Esténaga had not told him of the contents. Fr. Esténaga writes:

"The neophyte Juan Pablo, who was provided with papers liberating him from the Mission on condition that he might be occupied at the Mission whenever it needed him, is now needed to make stirrups and saddletrees for the cowboys. Work at the carpenter shop can with difficulty be done in a Mission which throughout the year requires carts, plows, yokes, etc., without a carpenter. Now there are no other carpenters at this Mission than Juan Pablo and Francisco de Asís. Since the carpenter shop has been closed for a long time, I directed the former (Juan Pablo) that he in accordance with the letter of the contract make the stirrups. He refused to mind and instead went to the sub-prefect and after the lapse of two days nothing has resulted. He has appropriated to himself the tools which the two carpenters possessed who have died, and he would not give them up. It seemed to me right to inform you about this in order that you might provide a remedy, and to declare this Mission should have a carpenter shop, or whether it should be closed.

[19] *Papeles Orig., Missions,* vol. ii, p. 1051.

"These conditional liberation papers are truly illusory and are an injury to the other neophytes, since they all have an equal right to be emancipated and all can make a living for themselves, and live by themselves by carting firewood and water, or by making adobes, which is work that all understand. If only the most useful are emancipated, who and how will one-half of the community maintain itself, composed as it is of aged, infirm, children, etc.? This is an anomaly which has been perpetrated in these missions for many years, since they should have emancipated either all or none. I desire that a mayordomo be placed in charge as soon as possible[20] in order to see how he will manage without a carpentershop and without a smithy, for the journeymen are free and the shops are closed. I do not want to run the Mission affairs any longer if the journeymen do not return. I hope you will reply to me with regard to Juan Pablo so that I may determine on delivering myself of the Mission. I have to notify you that since July 9, 1839, when I received the Mission, until January 9, 1840, there have been distributed to the Indians about $2,000 in clothing. There are still on hand fourteen barrels of wine and three barrels of brandy.[21] It is to be noted that some Indians have hired themselves out, for instance to Cota, Don Raymundo, Señor Aguirre, and I do not know to whom else; but they have paid nothing to the Mission. Señor Aguirre, indeed, is disposed to adjust the accounts; but the others are as the dead who do not speak. Postscript—It is sufficiently evident that Manuel Gonzalez maintains a whiskey shop at the rancheria, a matter which is contrary to the known law."[22]

Notwithstanding that he loathed the task, Fr. Esténaga, for the sake of the neophytes, certainly did his duty energetically. It seems that at last he was relieved of it by the appointment of Juan Perez as mayordomo, who apparently

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20 Bandini seems to have abandoned the position after the departure of Hartnell, which explains everything.

21 I. e., such as might be sold for the benefit of the Indians.

22 *Papeles Orig., Missions,* vol. ii, pp. 1009-1011.

thought the position was given to him for his own profit. At all events, Fr. Esténaga, ever solicitous for the poor neophytes, who had no one else to look after their temporal welfare, on February 23, 1841, complained to the prefect that Perez was wasting the property of the Mission and that he should therefore he removed. In vain the missionary proposed Don Bernardino Girado (Giraudeau?).[23] On investigation, the prefect at Los Angeles decided that the mayordomo was at fault as he had taken $250 more than his salary, according to Bancroft.[24]

From Bancroft we learn that two persons carried away beams and bricks from Mission Rancho at San Bernardino. This was a common enough practice at all missions on the part of unscrupulous settlers, and it explains the chief cause of the dilapidated conditions of most mission buildings. In July, 1841, the cook and the vaquero were discharged from the Mission because the latter was no longer able to support them.

In June, some one must have been troubled with honest scruples in consequence of Fr. Esténaga's complaint; for he wrote: "I will soon attend to the claim you make for beams and bricks taken from San Bernardino and will let you know the result." Later he wrote again: "I sent Julian Williams who says he took the beams and bricks by order of his father-in-law, and that he is going to see you in order to arrange. Guadalupe of Sonora shall leave the bricks at the place from which he took them."[25]

In the following year, on November 17, 1842, however, Fr. Esténaga, writing to the prefect at Los Angeles, claimed that Julian Williams had borrowed a caldron belonging to the Mission and worth from $300 to $500, and that instead of returning it, he gave it to the doctor in payment for having cured his daughter Francisca. Fr. Esténaga asks the aid of said prefect of the south to see what he can do to help

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[23] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, vol. v, pp. 302-303.

[24] *California*, vol. iv, p. 636, note 14.

[25] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles, Pref. y Juzg.*, vol. i, p. 314.

recover it. He says furthermore that the seven sacks sent to San Pedro with flour and beans belonged to the tithes paid to the pastor, and that he therefore claims them, as they are much needed for holding grain.[26] How the Fathers must have loathed this kind of epistolary correspondence, and how poor must the Mission have become to make such a demand necessary.

At this period M. Duflot de Mofras, a noted French traveler, visited California. In April, 1841, he appeared at Mission San Gabriel and Los Angeles. He related his impressions in a book which was published at Paris in 1844. Although his figures on the wealth of other Missions are extravagant enough, concerning Mission San Gabriel he surpassed himself in exaggerating the situation in the district which included San Gabriel and Los Angeles at the time of the confiscation. For this latter description he had, of course, to rely upon the veracity of the territorial officials. These endeavored to paint the Missions as large plantations where agriculture and livestock raising were carried on under the management of priests for whom the Indians had to labor without receiving anything more than food and clothing. The object of the Mission enemies was to make it appear that the "secularization" was enacted in order to free the neophytes from their priestly taskmasters, so that the Indians might enjoy the fruits of their labor. Mofras in good faith swallowed the extravagant stories and published them to the world which stood gasping in amazement at the immense wealth of the missionaries. Other writers simply followed Mofras without using a little arithmetic which would have enlightened them to see how utterly nonsensical Mofras' figures were.

Mofras first describes the location as follows: "The Mission of San Gabriel lies eighteen leagues to the north of Mission San Juan Capistrano, nine leagues to the east-southeast of Mission San Fernando, ten leagues from the sea, twelve

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[26] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles, Pref. and Juzg.*, vol. vi, p. 112.

"WITH THIS FAMILY HEAD AND HANDS ARE NEEDED"

leagues from the harbor of San Pedro, and four leagues from the Pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels.

"This Mission, the greatest and richest of the two Californias, is situated in the center of a large and beautiful plain, on the site of the Indian villages of Juyubut Cayuillas, and Sibaput tribes. The lands round about are extremely fertile. The number of livestock was so considerable that in order to reserve the pasturage for the horned cattle, horses had sometimes to be killed. In 1834, at the time of its opulence (?) San Gabriel comprised about 3,000 Indians and owned 150,000[27] head of horned cattle, 9,000 horses, more than 40,000 sheep, and realized a crop of 20,000 fanégas of cereals, 500 barrels of wine and as much of distilled liquor. Today it has only 500 horses and 3,500 sheep." (Only the last sentence is nearly true.)

Here is another piece of strong imagination. "The friar, Fr. Zalvidea (never seen by Mofras at this Mission) every year shipped a cargo of oil, hemp, and flax to San Blas; frequently he sent off another boat to Lima with a cargo of soap or tallow. The number of hides furnished by the Mission amounted annually to from 30,000 to 35,000."[28] "There were on display in the parlor two enormous chests, which a few years before contained more than 200,000 piasters (dollars) in cash.[29] The missionaries often had 200,000 francs worth of merchandise in storage. All has been robbed by the secular administrators," which last sentence is about all that is true on the subject.

"One day," Mofras here relates what he had seen, "I went out to the Mission to see the Rev. Fr. Tomas Esténaga, a Biscayan, the youngest and most active of the Spanish Franciscans. I found him in a field in front of a huge table. His

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27 All 21 missions together in 1832 owned but 151,200 head of cattle. Thereafter the number dwindled. San Gabriel had 16,500 head.

28 To do that, more than the entire herd would have had to be slaughtered *annually*.

29 There was not that much money in the whole California territory. The paisano rogues hoaxed the Frenchman mercilessly.

cowl was turned inside out; his sleeves were rolled up, and he was kneading clay, and showing the neophyte how to make the bricks that were piled up beside him. From afar, as he caught sight of me, he saluted with his hand, shouting, 'Friend, with this family head and hands are necessary.'" That was the way all missionaries gained the Indians.

Mofras speaks also of Los Angeles, but successfully only when he trusts his own eyes. "The town of Our Lady of the Angels," he writes, "was founded at the end of December, 1781,[30] pursuant to an order of the governor of California, Don Felipe de Neve, who had obtained Spanish (speaking) settlers from Sonora. The pueblo is situated on the bank of the Rio de Porciuncula or de los Angeles. From it the Mission of San Gabriel is four leagues southeast, that of San Fernando is nine leagues northwest, and the harbor of San Pedro is ten leagues off. The pueblo of Los Angeles is quite rich. The freed Indians of the neighboring missions are there under the direction of the residents. On an area of fifteen to twenty leagues square they own more than 24,000 head of cattle, 25,000 horses, and 16,000 sheep. The yield of the vineyards is 600 barrels of wine and as many of brandy;[31] but the crop of grain reaches scarcely 3,000 fanégas. This scanty product of grain tells of the laziness of the settlers who do not want to work. All the labor of tilling the soil about the pueblo is done by the Indians encamped on the banks of the stream at the outskirts of the settlement. These unfortunates are often greatly abused, and not always are their day's wages, which are fixed at a *real* (12½ cents) in silver, and a *real in merchandise paid*. All commerce is in the hands of foreigners. The pueblo has a church attended by a friar from San Gabriel, and a little primary school in charge of a woman."[32]

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[30] This agrees with Fr. Palóu, and so appears more correct than September as claimed by Bancroft and Hittéll. See Appendix C.

[31] Mofras revels in such figures which he could not verify.

[32] Mofras, *Exploration*, vol. i, pp. 349-359.

CHAPTER XIV

Eastern Immigrants Arrive.—Receive a Grant of Mission Lands from Alvarado.—Fr. Commissary Duran Protests.—New Governor Appointed.—Extreme Poverty of Mission San Gabriel.—Governor Micheltorena Arrives.—His Soldiers.—Decree Restoring the Missions to the Franciscans.—The Neophytes.—Memorable Corpus Christi Celebration.—Micheltorena Orders Schools to Be Opened.—His Ideal School.—Mission San Gabriel All but Hopelessly Ruined.—Fr. Esténaga Reluctant to Take Charge.—Fr. Commissary Urges the Fathers to Sacrifice Themselves for the Neophytes.—Another Mexican Constitution.—Los Angeles Items.—Hungry Indians Steal What Is Their Own.—The Cemetery at Los Angeles.

EARLY in November, 1841, a number of eastern immigrants, led by John Rowland and William Workman, arrived at San Gabriel. Workman and another, named Gordon, brought their families along. In the next year, though under suspicion of complicity in the Texan conspiracy against the Mexican government, Rowland, better known in California as Roldan, and Workman received from Governor Alvarado the grant of the Rancho de la Puente belonging to Mission San Gabriel. Fr. Duran's protest angered Alvarado, who used violent and insulting language, but apologized on receiving an explanation from Fr. Duran. However, Fr. Duran sent the following protest to the Mexican Minister of the Interior and Public Instruction:

"Your Excellency:—Fr. Narciso Duran, Commissary Prefect of the Missions of the South of the College of San Fernando de Mexico in Alta California, with due respect, submits and says:—By letter of the thirteenth of the present month of February, 1842, the Rev. Missionary Father of the Mission of San Gabriel communicates that this departmental government, following its plan and system of alienating or selling the ranchos which are the property of the unfortunate neophytes of these Missions, just sold a rancho belonging to the Mission of San Gabriel called *La Puente,* where the Mission

has more than a thousand head of cattle and horses, in order to adjudge it to an Anglo-American named Juan Roldan, recently arrived in this territorial department, and that he has ordered the Mission to vacate the site which is distant less than two leagues from it.

"I am the prelate of these said Missions and as such I am obliged to look after the welfare and the interests of their neophytes as we missionaries are the only tutors, custodians, and guardians of their persons and property. In justice and in accordance with the law of the Mexican Supreme Congress of November 17, 1835, and in keeping with various orders issued by the Supreme Government, the Missions should be restored to their ancient condition; but these orders have not up to date been obeyed. Without knowing under what pretext, we have been deprived of tutorship, care, and guardianship by the power which we have not been able to resist. Therefore, in the capacity of prelate, I respectfully declare before the sense of justice of your Excellency, that these present letters (which I am writing on ordinary paper because I have no stamped paper) I solemnly protest in the name of the neophytes of the Mission of San Gabriel, once, twice, and three times as may be customary in law, against the sale or alienation of said Rancho of La Puente, as well as against the transfers of many other pieces of land which this territorial government has effected with flagrant wrong and prejudice to the poor neophytes. In virtue of this protest I declare all such sales or transfers null, that they cannot confer a right or a legal possession to those actually in possession, and particularly not to said Juan Roldan, until the Supreme Government, after hearing the parties, has determined the indemnification which must be given to the neophytes. I declare that to the neophytes always remains safe and intact the right which they have to reclaim such property at all times, and to claim from now on as minors the beneficent law of restitution *in integrum*. God keep Your Excellency many years. Mission of Santa Barbara, February 21, 1842. Your Excellency's obedient servant, Fr. Narciso

Duran.—To His Excellency, the Minister of the Interior and Public Education."[1]

It was probably the protest of Fr. Duran that hastened the arrival of the new governor, General Manuel Micheltorena, whose appointment was dated January 22, 1842. Micheltorena's ship cast anchor in the harbor of San Diego on August 25. Unfortunately, as had been the custom in Mexico, recruits, 300 in number, were taken from various prisons. The new governor was a worthy official; but his mongrel set of would-be soldiers gave the paisanos, headed by Pio Pico, a welcome excuse for dealing with Micheltorena as they had done with Victoria. They needed but an occasion for concerted action against him. After spending several weeks at San Diego, clothing and drilling his motley crowd, the new governor marched to Los Angeles, where he was received with enthusiasm about the end of September, 1842.

Before starting out from San Diego, Micheltorena had directed Santiago Argüello, the prefect of the southern district, to address a circular to all the mayordomos of the missions, informing them that the governor and his troops would soon begin the march to the capital (Monterey) and that they would need supplies and quarters which the missions were expected to furnish. This order did not sound promising for the missions. What it meant for Mission San Gabriel may be inferred from two letters which Fr. Esténaga addressed to the Prefect Argüello. One is dated October 27, 1842.

"Juan Perez (mayordomo) entreats me to tell you that at this Mission there is no flour, and the little there is does not suffice for the consumption. Today they are threshing a little wheat, and tomorrow or the day after tomorrow they will commence to grind it; for at the Mission there are absolutely no other people than a few women, and they cannot be counted on for such kind of mechanical work." In a postscript, Fr. Esténaga says: "For days we do not know what bread is; that is given as alms."

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[1] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

On November 8, 1842, the same Father writes to Argüello: "In the absence of the mayordomo of this Mission, who has just left for San Pedro, I am told that in the Mission there is no manteca, there are no candles, and there is nothing wherewith to make tortillas; rather all go about the pueblo (Los Angeles) and through the ranchos, so that neither the Mission nor the Nation profits by their activity."[2]

In December, the new governor invited Alvarado to come to Los Angeles in order to make the formal transfer of the civil governorship. Instead, Alvarado sent his secretary, Manuel Jimeno, to act in his name. The legislative assembly also had been called to meet at Los Angeles on December 30. On the following day, the new governor took the oath of office. The town council, some of the legislators, and the most prominent citizens were present. Speeches were made, salutes were fired, and the city was illuminated on three evenings.

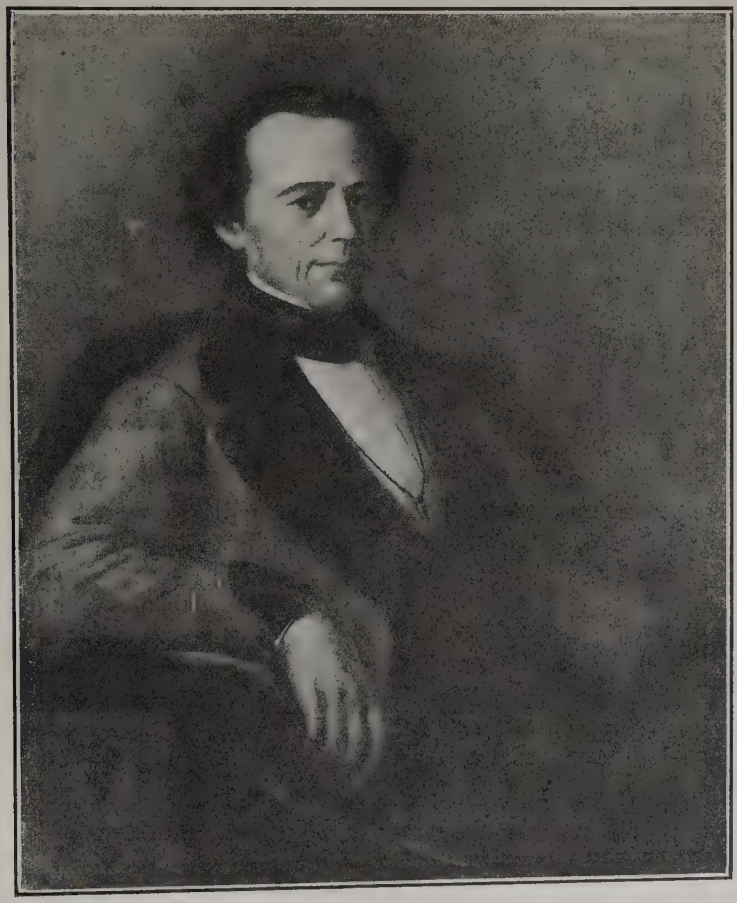
Thereupon, under date of January 15, 1843, Micheltorena informed Bishop Garcia Diego of the proceedings. On the same day, his Lordship answered the letter, praising the religious sentiments which the new governor expressed in his communication. Then the Bishop brought the information to the notice of all the priests in the diocese by means of a circular letter written on the same day.[3]

Micheltorena remained at Los Angeles with his battalion of *cholos,* as they were contemptuously called, until midsummer, 1843. "The records fail to show exactly how the troops were fed and clothed, since he found but fifty cents in the treasury at his arrival. The popular solution of the problem has always been that it was by stealing from the citizens. From Vallejo the governor received a schooner-load of provisions sent down from Petaluma on the *California* in June, with a certain amount of money; but a potent motive in determining the colonel's (Vallejo's) action was the acquisition of the Soscol rancho granted him this year, and for which the supplies

[2] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles, Pref. and Juzg.,* vol. viii, pp. 86, 106.

[3] *The Missions,* vol. iv, pp. 271-272.

furnished for public needs to the amount of some $11,000 were to be regarded as the price."[4] Contrast this with the action



GOVERNOR MANUEL MICHELTORENA

of the missionaries who for nearly forty years provided for the Indians and for the public needs without any grants or compensation.

[4] Bancroft, vol. iv, pp. 351-352.

While tarrying at Los Angeles, the governor issued the memorable decree of March 29, 1843, which restored the Indian missions to the care of the friars. Micheltorena thereby merely executed the law which a Mexican Congress had passed eight years before, but which had been disregarded by the paisano chiefs.[5] Bancroft observes that in the regulation "the padres became independent of the administrators, with whom as a rule their relations had not been friendly. They were enabled to protect from injury and loss certain property in the shape of buildings and gardens, which in the natural order of things would revert to the Church. With the small remnant of cattle and implements left from the general wreck, with the few Indians whom past changes had left in the communities, and with the temporary use of such poor lands as had not yet been granted to private ownership, the friars might now toil to support themselves. They hoped by the change to avoid at least certain personal humiliations and annoying complications with local and departmental authorities. On the other hand, the act was doubtless a wise one on the part of Micheltorena. So completely had the missions been stripped, in one way or another, of all that was valuable, that revenues could no longer be depended on; and the eighth of total production guaranteed under the new management was expected to prove a gain."[6]

On April 3, the governor addressed the following order to the administrators of Missions San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Fernando, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, Santa Inés, La Purisima, San Antonio, Santa Clara, and San José:

"Pursuant to the decree issued by this superior departmental government under date of March 29 last past, which you will have seen published, and in conformity to what is literally ordained therein, you will please deliver the mission in your

[5] For the full text of the decree see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 272 seq.

[6] *California*, vol. iv, pp. 370-371.

charge, after the respective inventories have been made, to the Rev. Father whom it may please the Rev. Fr. Presidente to designate, and who may present the order to that effect. You will render an account to this government along with the documents of the transfer and reception in which are specified the buildings, gardens, chattels, farm implements, etc., and will receive the allowance for the time during which you have discharged the office of administrator. God and Liberty. Los Angeles, April 3, 1843."[7]

In consequence of this Decree of Restoration, the officials of white settlements were notified, and all probably received notes similar to the following addressed by Prefect Estrada of Monterey to Sub-Prefect Suñol at San José:

"Regarding the Indians from Mission San José, who have not been emancipated, but may be found at your pueblo, you will see that they immediately present themselves to the person in charge of said mission to whom they must without fail subject themselves; and those, who may prove that they have acquired their liberty, may continue to enjoy choosing the person whom they agree to serve. The respective judge must watch that they are always occupied with some useful work, and he must not forget to hear them and to impart the justice to them which they merit in the transactions that may occur."[8]

During his stay at Los Angeles, besides making a public profession of his Faith, Governor Micheltorena added unusual splendor to the Corpus Christi celebration of 1843, which occurred on June 15. Addressing the prefect of the second district, Manuel Dominguez, on June 14, he writes:

"Celebracion Militar de la Fiesta del Corpus Christi.—In the order of today I have commanded the following to be inserted: 'At eight o'clock tomorrow morning all the chiefs and officers who are not on duty will appear at the residence of His

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[7] *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.,* vol. xiii, pp. 90-99. San Luis Rey and San Gabriel are not mentioned in our copy.

[8] Estrada to Suñol, April 4, 1843. *Archives of San José,* vol. ii, p. 190. Bancroft Collection.

Excellency, the Commander-General and Governor, in order to assist at the National Feast of Corpus Christi. The Battalion of Californias in their best outfit possible will hear holy Mass in the church, and at the conclusion will march out to form in line for the procession their right wing near the principal door of the temple. The artillery, owing to the scarcity of powder, will fire three salutes at daybreak, one as soon as the procession leaves the church, one about midway of the route, one as the procession re-enters the church, and three at sunset.'"[9] How different the situation in Mexico now!

OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS, LOS ANGELES. INTERIOR

Micheltorena was a great friend of education. He also had some very sound views on the subject. Like Governor Borica fifty years before, he insisted that true education was something more than book-learning. At all events, he did his best to establish primary schools, as the following order issued on April 25, 1844, and directed to the *jueces* of Los Angeles and of other towns demonstrates.

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[9] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol. xii, pp. 692-693.

"His Excellency, the Governor, desirous of promoting in the best manner the instruction of the young upon which depends public happiness, has ordained that by the first day of the coming month of July, in all the towns of the Department, schools[10] shall be established in which children of both sexes shall be received."[11]

On May 1, the governor issued his Reglamento or Regulations for the primary schools, which in ten articles clearly shows what according to his ideals a public school ought to be. Article 2 reads: "In these schools the children shall be taught reading, writing, the four rules of arithmetic, and the Christian Doctrine. The girls, moreover, shall be taught plain and fancy sewing, embroidery, knitting, and drawn work."

These schools for children between six and eleven years of age were to be open from 8-11 in the morning and from 2-5 in the afternoon every day, "except Sundays, holydays of obligation, national holidays, the day of the respective school's patron saint, and the day of the patron saint of the town." Article 10 prescribed: "For the Patroness of these schools the Most Holy Virgin of Guadalupe shall be adopted, and her image shall be given an appropriate place in each school."[12]

Not content with this, Micheltorena, a week later, through his secretary, Manuel Jimeno, addressed the town council of Monterey on the same subject. Other pueblos may have received a similar encouragement. "To procure the civil and religious education of the young of both sexes," the governor argued, "is the first and most sacred duty of a government; for without the knowledge and observance of the holy Religion, which we fortunately profess, it is of Faith that there is no salvation, no life everlasting of joy and happiness, but there

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[10] *Amigas,* the term used, does not signify female teachers, as Bancroft translates, but schools.

[11] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol. xii, pp. 625-626.

[12] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol. xii, pp. 631-633.

is one of torments and despair;[13] and, inasmuch as even in the transitory life on earth knowledge is honorable, is useful, is delightful, economical, it is advantageous to acquire it. A man who knows how to read, write, and cipher will not be in want of an employer; he will earn his support, and, in fine, he will not die of hunger. A woman who has the same knowledge, and knows how to sew, how to embroider, how to keep house, is sought, is appreciated, will have opportunities for suitable marriage, and will be able to enjoy the incomparable satisfaction of being able to teach the children herself. All these weighty reasons for education have impelled me to resolve on establishing a school in each of the towns of San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San José, San Francisco, and Sonoma, at the rate of forty dollars a month for the teachers, who will begin on July the first."[14]

On March 1, 1843, so even before Governor Micheltorena issued the decree of March 29, 1843, restoring all the missions in California to the management of the Franciscan Fathers, he directed Juan Crispin Perez, the mayordomo, to deliver the property and the administration of Mission San Gabriel to Fr. Tomas Esténaga. The inventory of that date is not extant. Fr. Esténaga thereby again received full control of the Mission; but in what condition! He had surrendered the charge to a salaried administrator in November, 1834, and among other things it had then possessed nearly 13,000 head of cattle. Now, after eight years and three months of secular management, the live stock was gone; nearly all the land was in the hands of strangers; the workshops were without laborers; and what remained of the Indians, the neophyte family, consisted of aged and infirm people, some women and some

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[13] One can readily understand why a governor giving expression to such antiquated ideas, which were calculated to disturb guilty consciences, should be distasteful to the Voltairianized young California leaders, and why they sought to cover him with infamy. They had treated the devoted missionaries similarly or worse.

[14] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol. xii, pp. 627-630.

orphaned children. Moreover, there was a string to Micheltorena's restoration grant: the missions were to pay one-eighth of the income to the governor for the maintenance of his troops and for the governmental needs! How could an institution out of which the lifeblood had already been sucked produce an exorbitant tax of 12½ per cent?

Fr. Esténaga seems to have refused to undertake the task of reviving the dead Mission temporalities; for a document, dated May 9, 1843,[15] states that Governor Micheltorena accepted the resignation of Augustin Olvera as commissioner in charge of Mission San Gabriel, and that he had him turn it over to Fr. Esténaga. Meanwhile, Fr. Duran, by a circular dated April 18, 1843, had directed the Fathers to make the sacrifice and to accept the management for the sake of the remnant of neophytes.[16] Fr. Esténaga, therefore, endeavored to make the best of the circumstances; but even before the end of the month, on May 30th, he had to learn that the governor conceded to Joaquin Carrillo irrigation facilities at Mission Vieja equally with the neophytes there.[17]

Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego, first Bishop of California, in company with his secretary, Fr. Gonzalez Rúbio, visited the places south of Santa Barbara as far as Los Angeles. He confirmed a great many persons at San Gabriel on March 2, and presumably at Los Angeles, besides examining the Mission registers. His *Auto de Visita* at San Gabriel is dated March 29.[18]

In June, 1843, a new Constitution was adopted in Mexico. It was the third in the short life of the republic, but not the last. The missionaries, like all citizens, were expected to swear allegiance to it. They did so. Fr. Esténaga, on December 20, reported that he had in the presence of the two

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15 *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, pp. 715-716.

16 *See Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 277-279.

17 *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.,* vol. xiii, pp. 110-111.

18 See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 259.

RT. REV. FR. FRANCISCO GARCIA DIEGO, O.F.M., FIRST BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA

witnesses Francisco Basualdo and Manuel Liveira solemnly taken the oath on the Constitution of June 20, 1843.[19]

The following item will be illuminating for the Angeleños. On November 21, 1843, Fr. Esténaga writes to Antonio Coronel: "In your church of Our Lady of the Angels are three bells from this mission (San Gabriel), which have not as yet been paid. The first bell was supplied to the church by the late Fr. Joaquin Nuez, in the year 1821. For the other two, permission was obtained in 1827, in which year they were appraised according to weight and the sale of the first bell included. At the time, payment was not made for the three bells on account of the political happenings. On the first bell was placed the figure of San Vicente Ferrer. It was set up in the temple of your city (Los Angeles), where it is to this date.

"The late Rev. Fr. José Sanchez was willing to accept all kinds of goods in payment for said bells; but, for the reasons indicated before, they have remained unpaid. Under the circumstances in which I am placed as guardian of the property of this Mission, in the name of this community I ask seventy head of fat cattle, which may be two years old, in payment for the three bells, in consideration of the good services they did during all this time, and for the image of San Vicente Ferrer."[20]

On February 6, 1844, Fr. Comisario Prefecto Narciso Duran wrote to Fr. Esténaga from Santa Barbara, relative to the sum of $2,700 sent to Carlos Carrillo for the purpose of purchasing clothing for the neophytes. "If Carrillo," he writes, "has turned over the money, he ought to have the receipts to show for it. If he has no receipts, you may demand payment. Take 500 head of cattle at $1.25 per head; for that is better than nothing."[21]

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[19] *Archb. Arch.*, No. 2268.

[20] *Cal. Arch., Los Angeles Archives, Civil*, vol. vii, p. 298.

[21] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Angeles, Decrees*, vol. iv, p. 690.

As in the case of the bells, there is nothing more on record about the transaction. It will be observed that cattle were rated at only $1.25 per head; but there was no sale for them in droves even at that price, which, of itself, explodes the foolish stories about the untold wealth of Mission San Gabriel.[22] Hence, if hungry Indians occasionally stole some cattle to satisfy their hunger, which they would not have had to suffer, had they been let alone in their missions, the crime was not so great as to justify an expedition against them. It was a far greater crime to rob the Indians of their missions and of the thousands of cattle that were their own. The Indians with good reason argued that they were taking only what in justice belonged to them, and only so much as they needed to sustain life. Next it will be observed that Carlos Carrillo just mentioned is one of the four henchmen of Pio Pico, who formed the "Most Excellent Assembly" that legislated the Indians out of their mission property and consequently out of their homes. Furthermore, it is to be noted that Fr. Comisario Duran sent out of his savings $2,700 to Carlos Carrillo to clothe the Indians; that Fr. Esténaga likewise gave the Indians all the earnings or alms which he received for officiating at Baptisms, etc., and that nevertheless the four henchmen demanded that he account for things of no use given away so that hungry and naked Indians might live. Truly, those paisano chiefs were great patriots and scrupulously honest!

Hugo Reid of San Gabriel, on February 10, 1844, informed the judge of the First Instance at Los Angeles that the Indians were addicted to gambling to such an extent as to lose even their blankets to one another, but that was really nothing new nor infrequent. Los Angeles was witnessing it every day at the time.[23]

On October 7, 1844, Fr. Esténaga transmitted to the town council of Los Angeles a copy of the permit he had received from the Bishop under date of September 27, 1844, to bless

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[22] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, Appendix F.

[23] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles, Pref.*, vol. viii, p. 120.

the "cemetery which was set apart in that city by the town council, as soon as it was properly fenced in." On October 21, he again wrote on the same subject to the alcalde of Los Angeles "that on the day before the blessing is to take place, there should be set up a wooden cross of the height of a man, and in front of it, in the ground, should be put a small stake of the length of a cubit (measure from elbow to tip of middle finger) and on it three slats of wood to hold at equal distances three candles. On the following day, which will be Saturday afternoon, the ceremonies of the blessing will take place."[24] According to Bancroft, the consecration took place on November 4, 1844.[25] Then trouble ensued. The town council wanted the cemetery to be regarded as municipal property, but the Bishop under date of November 9, 1844, declared that once the cemetery received the ecclesiastical consecration it became ecclesiastical property.[26] The members of the town council appear to have been afflicted with the infidel liberalism rampant in Mexican government circles for the greater part of a century. *"Quidquid semel fuerit Domino consecratum, Sanctum Sanctorum erit Domino."* (*Leviticus,* xxvii, 28.) They cared naught for Divine Commands down there; but the Mission despoilers were taught the lesson as soon as the U. S. Flag began to wave over California, when cemeteries, churches, etc., were ordered returned to the Church, as will be seen presently.

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[24] *Cal. Arch., Angeles,* vol viii, pp. 234, 242-243.

[25] Bancroft, *California,* vol. iv, p. 629.

[26] Bishop's *Libro Borrador* (Blotter).

CHAPTER XV

Legislature Assembles at Los Angeles.—Pico's Address.—Juan Bandini's Plan.—His Remarkable Admissions.—Mexican Government Forbids Touching the Missions.—Is Ignored by Pico.—He Orders Missions Sold.—His Creditors.—His Forgery of Documents.—Bancroft's Statement Thereon.—Pico's Motives for Hurried Sale.—The Crime Accomplished.—The Title Deeds.—San Gabriel Mission.—United States Prevents More Sales.—Returns Missions to the Missionaries.—General Kearny's Action.—U. S. Court Declares Pico's Sale Illegal.—Mission Property Returned to the Catholic Church.—Governor R. B. Mason's Declaration.—Fr. Tomas Esténaga Passes to His Reward.—His Burial Place.—Angeleños Demand Another Priest.—Fr. Blas Ordáz Appointed for San Gabriel.

ON March 2, 1846, at Los Angeles, Pio Pico opened the sessions of the new legislative assembly which consisted of Francisco X. Figueroa, Francisco de la Guerra, Narciso Botello, Juan Bandini, and Santiago Argüello. Pico informed the members that, though he had in conformity with the authorization of the assembly drawn up the most prudent regulations he could for the Missions, he was confronted with insuperable difficulties, for which reason he had been able to lease only the Missions of San Fernando, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, and Santa Inés. The rest, among which were San Gabriel, San Luis Rey[1] and San Diego, had encreased their debts to such an amount that it was not possible to lease them and pay the creditors who were justly clamoring for what was due them. "It is true," he continued, "that one-third of the rental has been set aside for paying debts, but since the condition of the missions is deplorable, one plain consequence is that their rental would be so small that it could never suffice for all the objects for which those revenues have been destined. For this reason, it appears to me more ra-

[1] Until this same Pio Pico started in to "administer" San Luis Rey, it was the richest of the Missions. After nine years of "administering" it, Pio Pico is obliged to make such a confession!

tional to suspend the action taken with regard to the others until the assembly, having examined and considered the obstacles, shall dictate a definite measure which, while it prevents the total ruin to which they are steadily proceeding, may show whether or not they may again become productive and augment the public wealth."

Juan Bandini was soon ready with a plan which he introduced on March 23, and which expressed the governor's ideas so exactly that we wonder whether it was Pico who prompted Bandini or Bandini who prompted the governor, as some believe. Confessing that at another period the missions were distinguished for a splendor which was quite visible, Bandini went on to say that "if it was painful to see the labors of many hands employed for more than seventy years rendered absolutely useless, it will be a shame to behold with a serene countenance the destruction of a great part, say we rather, of the mother of the territorial wealth. . . . I will not deny that the mission system was to have been the means of a gentle conquest, full of piety and devoid of the noise of deadly arms.[2] Nor will I conceal that, according to my mode of thinking, in the Californias it was the foundation of the prosperity[3] to which the Author of nature[4] invites us."

Nevertheless, Bandini continued, it was now necessary to devise other means than leasing in order to save the remnant mission property from entire ruin and to pay the debts. For

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2 Readers who may happen to meet with some of the wild mouthings of this fierce enemy of the friars, will do well to recall what he stated here in public session.

3 "Tampoco ocultare, en mi modo de pensar, que en Californias fue el cimiento de la prosperidad." Yet this same ex-vice-president of the colonization swindle (see *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, section ii, chap. xii) was one of the earliest and bitterest foes of the "foundation of California prosperity."

4 "Autor de la naturaleza!" Like apt pupils of French infidelity, Bandini shies at giving his Creator the one incommunicable title of God! It reminds too strongly of being held to account some day. Pico was wont to use the infidel term of Supreme Being. This did not remind so readily of the Last Judgment.

that purpose he proposed the following articles to the consideration of the assembly. He then introduced a bill containing eight articles which provided for the sale of the missions. The bill was adopted on March 30, 1846; and on April 4, 1846, Pico published it in a proclamation.[5]

"Before anything had been done to carry this decree into effect," says Bancroft, "there arrived from Mexico, dated November 14, 1845, and submitted to the assembly on April 15, through Minister Montesdeoca, an order of the national government suspending all proceedings for the sale of the mission property. This, without recorded comments, was referred on May 13 to the committee on missions, and nothing more is heard of it for several years. In original archive records of later months of 1846, there is found but little to indicate that the Montesdeoca order was obeyed, at least to the extent of suspending the sales."[6] This then explodes the tale that it was the Mexican Government which ruined the missions. The authors of that crime were none other than the native Californians, who called themselves Catholics, but acted like rabid atheists.

Pico and Bandini were determined. The suspicion is, therefore, well founded that both hurried their decree through the legislature *before* they made known the Montesdeoca order. It is probable that the order arrived before March 23, when Bandini offered his project for the sale of the missions. Had the assembly been aware of the Montesdeoca order, it is possible that a majority might have refused to do Pico's bidding. So they were not told until two weeks after the passage of the resolution.[7]

Instead of obeying the Supreme Government, Pico, on May 13, 1846, the same day on which the subservient legislators referred the Montesdeoca order to the Committee on Missions for non-action, called upon all the creditors of the missions

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[5] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 495-497.

[6] *California,* vol. v, p. 560.

[7] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 502.

to present their claims and proofs; and "in later years," as Bancroft relates the sordid operations of his former clients, "there were produced title deeds signed by Pico, showing the sale at different dates between May 4 and July 4 of twelve missions. These titles vary considerably in form. *In none is there any allusion to a sale by auction,* and it has never been claimed that the sale was of *that character as required by the decree.* The consideration, even where a definite sum is named, was in most cases an amount already due from the government for past advances,[8] and, in the other cases, there is no evidence respecting the payment or use made of the money. Most of the titles require the purchaser to pay the mission debts, and to provide for the padre's support and the expenses of public worship, also reserving from the sale the church and priests's residence. Some of them make provision for remnants of the community Indians. Nearly all refer to a general authorization from the Supreme Government, *without naming any definite order of date,* or alluding in any way to the Montesdeoca order."

"In later years," Bancroft continues, "a Mexican order of March 10th, declaring the governor and general 'facultados ampliamente' to defend the country, was produced as legalizing the sales. I regard the document in itself as sufficient,[9]

[8] This would seem to indicate that it was not the missions, but Pico who was being pressed by creditors, and that he had borrowed money expecting to return it from the proceeds of the mission sales! We have all along wondered who the mission creditors might be? to what amount and when they had advanced money or merchandise for the Indians or the missions? Pico being the debtor explains why he everlastingly talk of "clamoring creditors" of the missions, whereas under Micheltorena they kept absolutely silent!

[9] "The 'ample powers,' it seems to me," Bancroft says, "must have included the power to raise funds by selling the only national property in the province." Bancroft assumes that the missions were national property, whereas they were Indian property and to be treated like any other private property, as Governor Micheltorena authoritatively declared in keeping with the mind of the Mexican government. It is for that reason the United States courts declared the sale of the mission lands illegal.

although the courts did not take this view of it; but the date of receiving this order is not known; it is improbable that it arrived before May 4th, when the sales began, or before the middle of June, when most of them had been effected; had it been in his possession, Pico would almost certainly have cited it; and during the period between the reception of the Montesdeoca order of April 15th and the unknown date when the Tornel order came to hand the governor had no right to sell the mission estates.[10]

"In the case of several missions,'" Bancroft goes on, *"it was proved clearly enough that the titles and corroborating papers in private hands had been written after Pico's' return to California in* 1848, *or at least after the raising of the United States flag in July,* 1846, *and fraudulently antedated.* That the same was true of others is strongly indicated by various circumstances; notably, the absence of original archive evidence, the error in the date of the assembly's decree,[11] with other irregularities in the documents,[12] the mystery enshrouding the alleged payment of large sums of money, the delay of purchasers in making known their claims, and the failure to call certain witnesses in the resulting litigation."[13]

In an earlier chapter, Bancroft, after vainly trying to excuse some of Pico's transactions, writes: "The sales of the missions were effected in pursuance of a policy formed in earlier years,[14] with the approval of the assembly. The price was

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[10] As subordinate official, Pico had no right to sell the missions at any time without the approval of the supreme government, which plainly would not grant such approval, as the unfaithful governor well knew.

[11] "A noticeable peculiarity is that the date of this act is generally given as April 13th, instead of 3rd (trece for tres)."—Bancroft, vol. v, p. 563, note 10.

[12] "The Mexican treaty commissionaries in 1848 assured the United States representatives that there had been no land grants since May 13, 1846."—Bancroft, vol. v., p. 563, note 14.

[13] Bancroft, *California,* vol. v, pp. 561-563. Italics are ours.

[14] By Pico, Alvarado, and other oft-named confederates as far back as the time of Echeandia.

as large as could be obtained, and I find no reason to doubt that the proceeds were patriotically squandered in support of the government,[15] and preparations against Castro. *It would be well for his reputation could we stop here;* but there is no room to doubt that some titles were written by the governor just before his departure, or even after his return, and fraudulently antedated. *Comment is unnecessary.*"[16]

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Mexican Government, Pio Pico resolved to proceed with the sale of the Indian mission property. Three motives, apparently, impelled him to act without delay. He "was determined to do away with the mission system at all hazards," despite even Bandini's admission that it was the mother of territorial wealth. Next, he must silence the creditors clamoring for the money, which in some cases at least, they seem to have loaned to him rather than to the missions, some of which had not received a dollar. Thirdly, he must crush the hated rival, General José Castro, who was acting independently of the Los Angeles governor, and was using the custom-house revenues at Monterey against Pico, as the latter presumed. For all these purposes the income of one-third of the rent from the missions was significant indeed.

Accordingly, in disregard of all moral and religious principles, and of the catechism which he boasted he had "learned by heart," Pico began to sell missions on May 4, 1846. Three had already been thus alienated in the preceding December. On June 8, 1846, it was the turn of Mission San Gabriel to be disposed of to Hugo P. Reid and William Workman for debts, the amount of which was not stated.[17]

Thus Pico had at last accomplished his heart's desire and the ambition of his confederates, the Bandinis, Alvarados,

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[15] Pico's, of course.

[16] *California,* vol. v, p. 277. *Italics are ours.* For proofs see *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 550, 724-781.

[17] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 507-508.

SAN GABRIEL MISSION CHURCH AND IMMEDIATE VICINITY ABOUT 1865

Vallejos, Castros, etc., since the year 1830, when these overgrown boys obtained control of the territory in consequence of the Mexican decree which banished all Spaniards under sixty years of age and forbade those over sixty years to hold office. He had at last effectually wiped out the famous schools of civilization, of mechanical arts, of agriculture, and of stock raising, which the zealous Franciscan Fathers, amid indescribable hardships and difficulties, and in the face of almost interminable obstruction, had established for the wild tribes of California in connection with their churches erected for the spread of the Gospel of Christ. However, the Avenging Angel already stood at the very door; but we must not anticipate.

In the deeds or "Escrituras de Venta," certain conditions were laid down for the purchasers' observance. They vary in form, but the essentials are similar, so that it will suffice to refer the reader to the "Escritura de Venta" of Mission San Diego in the volume on that mission, or to *The Missions and Missionaries,* volume iv, pp. 509-511.

No inventory is extant. However, it seems that Henry Dalton had been put in charge of Mission San Gabriel long before the sale. At all events, under date of February 4, 1846, he wrote to Pio Pico's secretary that he had received the Mission of San Gabriel; but that, since he encountered some obstacles in collecting the few cattle left, 29 or 30 head, he was compelled to leave in his place Bernardino Guirado and as mayordomo Andrés Duarte. "May it please you," Dalton writes to the secretary, "to bring to the knowledge of the governor that the property is in complete ruin. It has neither implements nor tools of any kind. Consequently it will be with much difficulty to make any improvement both for said lack as also for lack of hands. Nevertheless, I have left instructions that what is possible should be done to preserve the things from further ruin." Finally, on May 16, 1846,

Dalton wrote to Pico that he resigned the charge of the Mission of San Gabriel.[18]

Such then was the condition of the former "Pride of the Missions," when Pico sold it to Reid and Workman. Both the missionary and the neophytes were thus evicted from the home they had created by their labor. They were homeless. The missionary had to board with strangers, and the few neophytes might labor for the salaried mayordomo or go whither they wished. They were now "free" to shift for themselves, but without a penny, after having labored many a year for the Mission that now, in ruins, went into other hands for which it had not been intended.

On July 7, 1846, only one month after Pico had unlawfully disposed of Mission San Gabriel, Commodore J. D. Sloat ordered the United States flag to be raised at Monterey. That action proclaimed the death knell to the misrule of the Pico band which did not respect even church property. Five weeks later Pico and Castro fled to Mexico. On August 13, 1846, United States troops under Commodore R. F. Stockton, marched into Los Angeles, Pico's capital, to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner. There were some abortive efforts on the part of J. M. Flores and Andrés Pico to hold the territory; but on January 13, 1847, the last remnant of the Californians surrendered at Cahuenga. For details the reader is referred to *The Missions and Missionaries,* volume iv, pages 545-592.

In 1853, Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O. P., of San Francisco, laid claim to the mission property in so far as it was Church property unlawfully alienated by Pio Pico. The United States authorities, using their common sense simply, had from the beginning judged the churches, priest's dwelling, cemeteries, and gardens to belong to the Church. General W. Kearny had already directed such property to remain in charge of the priests, as witness his action from the following communication:

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[18] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, pp. 884-885.

"Headquarters Southern Military District, Pueblo of Los Angeles, June 2, 1847

Very Rev. José M. Gonzalez Rúbio, Santa Barbara, Cal.
Esteemed Father:

The Proclamation issued by His Excellency, S. W. Kearny, Brigadier General and Governor of California, in virtue of the authority from the President of the United States of North America, dated March 22, 1847, having decreed that the Missions of Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San José, and San Juan (Bautista) should stay in the care of the Fathers of the territory, I considered that all the rest of the Missions ought also to be under your charge in virtue of this decree. With permission of Your Reverence I represent that, since the death of the Father charged with the Mission of San Gabriel, said Mission has had no one to care for it except one called D. Olivera, who says that he was administrator since 1839. He paid me a visit a few days ago to ask me that I should oblige the alcalde to comply with his duties and make all persons not authorized to live there leave the grounds of the Mission.

I have complied with what he asked me, and my order is now being carried out. My object in writing to Your Reverence now is to advise you that this man (D. Olivera) in case he is a suitable person, unless some one else, be named regularly by Your Reverence to care for the interest of the Mission, because, as it is now, it is going to ruin entirely. If Your Reverence will make such appointment informing me of it officially, I shall assist to the best of my power to conserve this property. With deep respect I am Your servant Q. B. V. M.

J. D. Stevenson,
"Colonel Commanding the District of the South."[19]

Let the reader take note of the Protestant military commander's regard for the property of Religion and compare it

[19] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

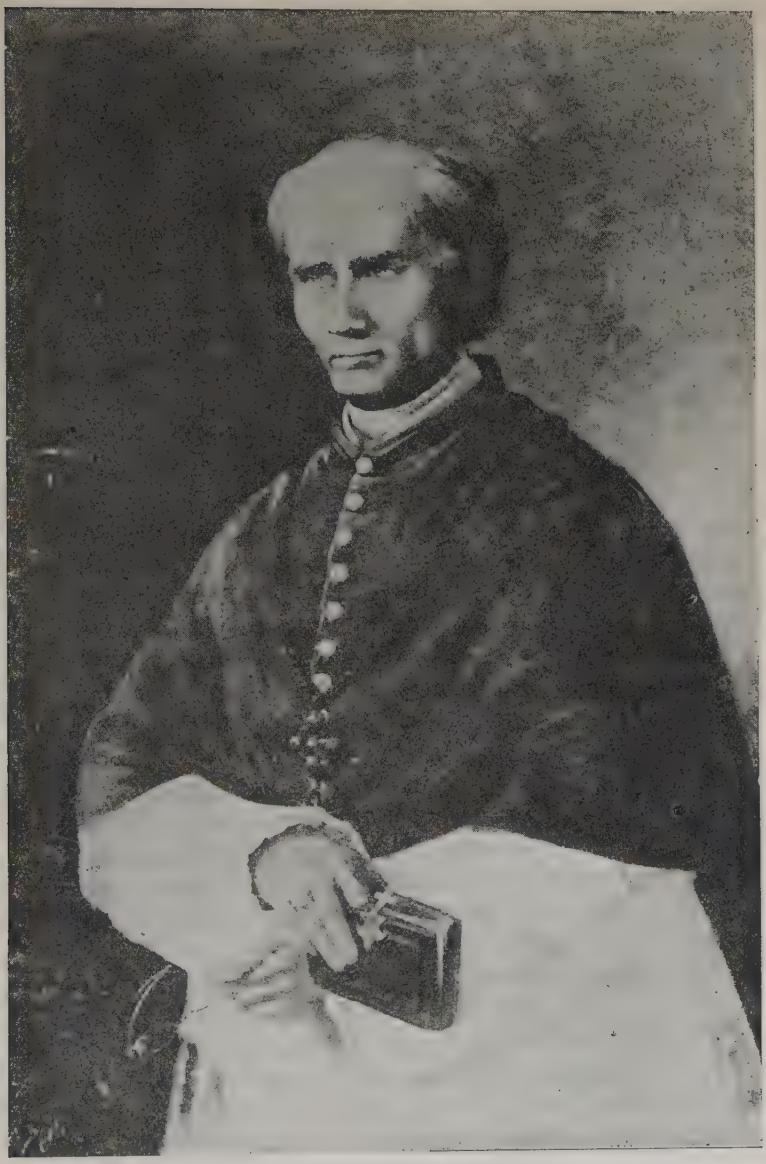
with the total disregard of the "Catholic" governor for that same property; and let him note, too, that the last notable action of the liberalized Mexican Pico was robbing the Church of her own, whereas the first action of note on the part of the United States Official was to restore to the Church what was her own. What a pity the United States flag was not raised fifteen years before! Church and neophytes would have been protected in their natural and legal rights.

Military Governor R. B. Mason, the successor of Kearny, on July 19, 1847, declared: "The United States Government fully recognizes and will sustain the rights of the priests at the missions, and to all mission property, against all those who cannot, in due course of law, show a just and sound title, and my instructions from the President require me to sustain him (the priest at the mission)."[20] How different from the action of the paisano chiefs. From the day, therefore, that the United States flag waved over Monterey, Church property was safe.

Eventually, on December 18, 1855, the United States Land Commission decided the property claimed as Church property according to Spanish law; namely, the church edifice, the cemetery, the priests' dwelling, and for their support the garden, orchards, and vineyards, to belong to the Catholic Church. The patents were accorded to the Archbishop in trust, and the signatures of the President of the United States at last restored the property named. For details we refer the reader to *The Missions,* volume iv, pages 732 to 745. The Patent for Mission San Gabriel will be found in the next chapter.

Fr. Esténaga, who was twice deprived of the management of the Mission by the covetous mission enemies, enjoyed the peace succeeding the arrival of the United States troops but one year. He passed to his eternal reward from the Mission of San Fernando whither he had retreated to be cared for by kind friends, in May, 1847. It is singular that neither in the

[20] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 587.



MOST REV. JOSEPH SADOC ALEMANY, O.P., D.D., FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF SAN FRANCISCO

Mission Register of San Gabriel nor in that of Mission San Fernando any mention is made of his burial. Bancroft has him die at San Gabriel early in 1847, which is correct as to time, but wrong as to place. The Rev. E. Sugranes, C.M.F., of San Gabriel, lets him die at San Fernando in 1845 or 1846, which is correct as to place, but wrong as to time. The doubt may be settled by consulting two documents. "The town council of Los Angeles," says the first paper, "filled with the deepest consternation has seen that with the death of the parish priest, Fr. Thomas Esténaga, our church (parish) is absolutely orphaned, and always laments the loss of a worthy Father and friend. We may indeed in the midst of this affliction console ourselves for having here Father Don Antonio Jiménez del Récio. However, the chronic infirmity which he suffers and his feeble constitution doubtless do not permit him to give full attention to the complicated and laborious duties of a curate. Hence a parish priest is wanting and the populace laments its orphaned state. In order to fill the vacancy, this Illustrious Body met in session on the fifteenth of this month of May and unanimously directed me to assist at a general meeting of the inhabitants belonging to the parish; and they resolve that for the subsistence of this parish priest there be established a moderate parochial fee system in proportion to the circumstances and the poverty of the country. With this the tears of the settlers will be wiped away and Your Reverence will be recognized as the true pastor and Father of the church and apostle of Jesus Christ. I, in compliance with what was agreed, have the honor to speak to Your Reverence in the name of all and to offer you the proofs of appreciation and respect. Los Angeles, May 15, 1847."[21]

The preceding document in the Archives bore neither signature nor address; but from the *Libro Borrador* we can guess to whom the appeal was made, although the official of Los Angeles had adopted the jargon introduced by infidel Liberals in Mexico and, instead of addressing the administrator of the

[21] *Cal. Arch., Los Angeles, Arch., Civil,* vol. ii, p. 1232.

diocese with ecclesiastical titles common the world over, he uses simply the initials V.S. (Vuestra Señoria), which may mean anything from lordship to mister. The Very Rev. Fr. José Maria Gonzales Rúbio, under date of May 22, 1847, replied to the petition of the alcalde of Los Angeles asking for a strong and robust parish priest, since the Rev. Antonio M. Jiménez was too feeble and infirm, and adding that he was at a loss to know what to do, as Fr. Esténaga had died lately. He thought of sending the Rev. Father Jiménez to San Fernando and of changing Fr. Blas Ordáz from there to Los Angeles. This is what was eventually done, for we find Fr. Ordáz baptizing at San Gabriel in May, 1847, and thereafter also at Los Angeles, whilst the Rev. Antonio Jiménez remained at San Gabriel.

Fr. Blas Ordáz has the distinction of being the last of the old Fathers who had come from Spain. He arrived at a time when the missions still flourished, in 1820, although even then, owing to the drain on their resources by the military, decay had already set in. Now Fr. Ordáz saw the neophytes scattered in every direction and scarcely anything left of the buildings but the church and the quarters of the missionaries, which his predecessor had to share with intruders, sometimes of the vilest class, as Santiago Argüello declared in 1841.[22] He died in 1850. Father José J. Jimeno and Fr. Francisco Sanchez, the Father "Salvadierra" in Helent Hunt Jackson's *Ramona,* were stationed at the Mission till August 15, 1852, when Fr. Sanchez entered his last Baptism under number 9,287.

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22 *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 641.

CHAPTER XVI

Revolt Against Micheltorena.—"Battle."—Micheltorena Resigns.—Pio Pico Governor *ad Interim*.—Immediately Plans to "Wipe Out" the Missions.—Unjust Aspersions.—Fr. Esténaga to Pico.—Fr. Reál to Pico.—Hypocrisy of the Pico Clique.—Nothing Sacred to Them.—Pico Appoints Commissioners to Take Over the Mission Property.—Fr. Esténaga Refuses to Yield Till Commanded.—Unterrified.—Fr. Duran Directs Him to Yield, but by Inventory.—Fr. Duran Trapped.—Amazed at Pico's Duplicity.—Neophytes Demand Freedom as Promised.—Mexican Government Asks Fr. Duran to Report.—Fr. Duran on San Gabriel.—Rev. Antonio Jiménez Attends Los Angeles.

AS was to be expected, the act of Micheltorena taking the mission property out of the hands of the hirelings who mismanaged it, and restoring it to the care of the surviving aged missionaries, angered the freebooting crowd headed by Pio Pico, Alvarado, Castro, Bandini, and Mariano Vallejo. They accordingly conspired to remove him. Castro and Alvarado unknown to to the governor at first began to collect a little army and retreated to the vicinity of Los Angeles. Micheltorena followed them with a force of about equal strength, including some fifty foreign riflemen. There were about an equal number of foreigners with the Castro party. On February 20th both "armies" came face to face at Cahuenga. The foreigners on both sides refrained from taking part in the ensuing "battle." As usual, when an equal force of Californians or Mexicans met in battle, there was little danger of anyone suffering harm. "The Californians," writes Bancroft, "had two small cannon, the Mexicans (Micheltorena's *cholos*) three, including one brought from Sutter's New Helvetia (Sacramento). It was probably noon before the firing began, and it was kept up all afternoon on both sides, Micheltorena's gunners using grape and firing over a hundred times, whilst the others fired fewer shots, using ball and in some cases perhaps small stones. The result was that a horse on the

patriot side had his head blown off—some say two horses fell, while I am impelled by a spirit of historical fairness to record a rumor, not very well authenticated, that a mule on the side of the *cholos* was slightly injured. Not a drop of human blood was spilled on the battlefield of Cahuenga."[1]

To be brief, next day the foreigners on both sides withdrew entirely, on the ground that it was not their duty as foreign residents nor to their interest to fight for the purposes that divided the Californians and Mexicans. Micheltorena, not any more the dashing general of yore, but now ailing, seeing that with his *cholos* there would be little chance of victory, offered to surrender. The treaty was signed in his camp near Mission San Fernando, on Saturday, February 22, 1845. The last article permitted "Micheltorena's division to march with all the honors of war, with music, flying colors, and three pieces of artillery, the flag to be saluted by Castro's drummers, but the guns and appurtenances to be given up at San Pedro," where the ex-governor and his troops embarked.[2] "There is much to be said in praise of his policy in all branches of government," says Bancroft, "and very little to condemn."[3]

On February 23, 1845, Pio Pico, as senior member of the assembly, in the usual extravagant style of the clique, announced the agreement reached at Cahuenga. Next day, the changes in the territorial government were officially announced by Juan Bandini, who had accepted the position of secretary under Pio Pico. Los Angeles was made the capital of the territory, and the sessions of the assembly were held there. Alvarado was made administrator of the customhouse at Monterey, and José Castro became military commander with headquarters also at Monterey.

Pico almost immediately began to take steps to wipe out the missions, that is to say, to alienate the lands and to leave the

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[1] *California*, vol. iv, p. 503.

[2] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 328-330.

[3] *California*, vol. iv, p. 419.

neophytes practically homeless. There was nothing to stop him. There was no court of appeal; and Mexico, though it forbade any action against the missions, was too far away; besides it was threatened with a war with the United States. Both governors, Figueroa and Micheltorena, had declared the missions to be private property of the Indians, be it remembered, just as much private property as that of any citizen. Pico could just as well legislate any citizen's property out of existence. Suppose the State Legislature of California would now pass a law for the sale of one of the Indian Reservations which are subject to the United States Government. That was exactly the case at the time we are treating here; but Pico was not to be deterred by such trifles that stood in the way of his greed. On April 18, 1845, he opened his attack on the missions by a message to the assembly relative to the lamentable state of the missions; and finally, on August 20th, by a proposal to rent or sell the mission property.[4]

On May 26, 1845, Fr. Esténaga wrote to Pio Pico, now governor *ad interim,* as Fr. Duran styled him, and consequently not empowered to do anything that meant a change in the condition of the missions, especially when the Mexican government had forbidden any move on that subject: "Complying with the order of my prelate, Fr. Narciso Duran," the missionary wrote, "relative to the debts of the Mission, I report those contracted in my time separately from those made by the administration and mayordomos, of which I had no view until Felix Valdez turned the accounts over to me. I should also like to know whether Señor Dalton has received the title to the land for which he offered $400. I have asked his attorney, Perfecto Hugo Reid,[5] who told me that the title to the land had not yet been extended to him. Surely, the last relic of their lands ought to fall to the share of these poor Indians."[6]

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[4] *Cal. Arch., Leg. Rec.,* vol. iv, pp. 361, 469-471. *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 469, 445-450, 459, 462, 508-509.

[5] A Scotchman who settled down at Los Angeles in 1835.

[6] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Benicia, Pref. and Juzg.,* vol. ii, pp. 639-640.

The freebooting clique became afraid, presuming that the missionaries were no more scrupulous than they themselves, lest the Fathers might make away with some scraps of the property on which they themselves had an eye. At any rate, they claimed that some of the friars had alienated mission property which the assembly forbade. Fr. Esténaga replied to the insulting charge, on behalf of himself, under date of May 7, 1845: "In the name of the neophytes, some waste land has been granted to some,[7] and to others it was refused. To show their gratitude, those favored have made some returns by giving some cattle or goods for the benefit of the neophytes; but *no land has been granted without the previous knowledge of the government.* It is true also that the Mission has given away some articles which were not needed, and the absence of which, therefore, caused no injury to the neophytes, but not without permission of the Superior."[8] Fr. Esténaga had to do something to keep the neophytes from starving. At all events, it was the property of the neophytes, who as owners had a right to dispose of it for their own needs. There were no more cattle to sell. Bandini had attended to that. What should the missionary do? Anyway, he went about it in regular form; he secured the permit, as in the case of Dalton, if that business had been transacted at all during his administration.

Other Fathers did not take the hypocritical solicitude of the mission robbers so gently. One, Fr. José Reál of Mission Santa Clara, replied: "It caused me great surprise to see how quickly and willingly the governor accuses of crime the poor missionaries who sacrificed their tranquility and their health in the discharge of the ministry, when they rendered their service to the government of the nation, and that, too, for a period of more than five times fifteen years, during which time they had charge of the extensive interests and the absolute control of the missions. That government never thought

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[7] Not by himself, but by the government lately in the case of Henry Dalton.

[8] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 357-358.

of critically watching their administration, but rather left it entrusted to the good faith and conscientiousness of the missionaries. The same government, when our just complaints came to its knowledge, if unable to provide immediate relief, would find it expedient to manifest at least its gratitude and compassion."[9] Fr. Reál, like all other Fathers, except Fr. Esténaga, who was justified, declared that nothing had been given away.

Notwithstanding the explanation of kind-hearted Fr. Esténaga, probably with a view not to allow the wily temporary governor any just pretext to proceed against the missions, Fr. Duran wrote to Pico: "I shall give Fr. Tomas Esténaga the deserved reprimand, and even threaten him that, if necessary, we shall in accord place an official there to restrain him. If you know of another, I shall thank Your Excellency if you would let me know so that I can take the same steps."[10]

So after reducing the once extensive missions and their belongings to scraps, as Fr. Duran put it, the freebooters demanded of the Fathers, who had created the wealth of the missions at the sacrifice of their peace and health, a strict account of those scraps! Alvarado and Pico had given away whole ranchos;[11] Pico had appropriated to himself against the will of the Indians large tracts of land cultivated by the neophytes;[12] Bandini and others at San Gabriel secured large ranchos and under them the numerous livestock disappeared. Now these same freebooters accuse the missionaries of giving away utensils or articles that were not needed, in order to support the poor, aged, and infirm neophytes, who, for all that the law regarded them as minors, were nevertheless the real owners! and the heartless usurpers now demand an account

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[9] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 358.

[10] Ibidem, p. 366. It is not certain that Fr. Duran was serious. It sounds sarcastic.

[11] La Puente, for instance.

[12] Let the reader consult the volume on San Luis Rey Mission and convince himself of the utter hypocrisy of the man.

SAN GABRIEL MISSION CHURCH. ANOTHER FRONT AND SIDE VIEW

of the Fathers on these scraps! Was there ever hypocrisy more insolent?

The Fr. Comisario Prefecto erred if he supposed that by unjustly censuring Fr. Esténaga he could arrest the greedy Pico and his unscrupulous aids from executing their iniquitous plan against the missions. "I was determined," Pico frankly confesses, *"to put an end to the mission system* (i.e., to the missions) *at all hazards,* in order that the land could be acquired by private individuals."[13] A really shocking confession! The missions were semi-ecclesiastical institutions, established for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. No government money went into them. Private funds founded and maintained them. They became self-supporting from the start; even more, they maintained the military government in California for sixty-five years. In gratitude, the government should have fostered them and encouraged the missionaries who were effecting so much. All Christians should have joined in sustaining the friars in their heroic efforts. It is done now by the members of various denominations, who establish and support missions in all parts of the world. There are missions in Arizona at our very door, and people of zeal make sacrifices to promote the work of these missions. In California, neither the government nor the citizens did anything of the kind. They clung like leeches to the missions, cultivated and made somewhat wealthy by the neophytes; and now Pico and his paisano clique take the property away from the owners in order to enrich themselves and their henchmen. It was a sacrilege. What if anything like it were attempted by the United States Government—let us say, to Methodist missions! Yet, later, this man, Pico, actually bragged about his action. He also boasted that as a child he could recite the whole Catechism of Ripalda by heart, and he was often called upon to do so as an exhibition of his brightness. What was the use of it, however, if he did not heed, for instance, the Tenth Commandment, which forbids coveting our neighbor's goods? He did

[13] *Narracion,* vol. ii, p. 134.

not stop at coveting; for the Seventh Commandment was equally well disregarded in the case of the missions. Other Commandments, too,—but no, we do not want to soil our pages. However, Pico did not escape punishment.

The resolution to wipe out the missions grew into a mania with Pico. What became of the neophytes, the real owners; concerned him not at all. Accordingly, on May 28, 1845, Pico had his pliant legislative assembly, composed of Botello, Carlos Carrillo, and Ignacio del Valle, pass a decree providing for the leasing of some missions and for the converting of others into pueblos.[14] The act was illegal, as it contravened the express prohibition of the Mexican government; but Pico knew that the government of Mexico had its hands full. Mission San Gabriel was among those to be rented out. On July 1, 1845, Pico notified Fr. Duran that a commission, composed of Andrés Pico (his brother) and Juan Manso, would immediately proceed to draw up an inventory at each mission, beginning at San Gabriel and would thence go north; he also asked Fr. Duran to notify Fr. Esténaga. The latter was informed to the same effect on the same date.

Pico would not await the order from Fr. Duran. On the very next day, he sent his brother and Manso to San Gabriel to demand immediate surrender of the Mission; but the amazed Fr. Esténaga knew his duties and his rights. He quite properly informed the two commissioners that he would yield only to force, until he had heard from his Superior. To Pico he at once wrote, on July 2, 1845: "To this demand I have to say in two words that I respect and venerate the new dispositions of the Most Excellent Assembly concerning the Missions; but I can not give my assent to the command of proceeding to inventory and surrender the interests and belongings of this Mission in my charge so long as I see no express order from my Superior."

Ruffled that his peremptory order had not impressed the fearless friar in the least, Pico on the same day sent this

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[14] For text see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 373-375.

message, which impressed Fr. Esténaga still less: "The government (i.e. Pico) wants to avoid disagreeable correspondence; its orders can not be changed; and it believes that you will not continue to resist the surrender of the Mission, when your own prelate has submitted to the orders."[15]

On July 1, Pico had sent his request that Fr. Duran direct the friars to surrender the missions to the commissioners. The Fr. Prefecto lived at Santa Barbara; and, therefore, he could not have as yet received the letter; much less could an answer have reached Pico on July 2. Hence, the usurper of the office of governor, who himself had disobeyed the Mexican prohibition to make any change in the status of the missions, lied. Fr. Esténaga had reluctantly accepted the management of what was left of the Mission property, because his Superior so entreated him for the sake of the neophytes. He would wait now, as he was in duty bound to do, until his Superior directed him to resign the trust. Doubtless, he suspected that Pico had not as yet received a reply from Fr. Duran, and at once notified Fr. Duran of what had happened.

Meanwhile, on July 3, 1845, Pico's messenger brought the governor's letter to Fr. Duran. The latter immediately sent out a circular to the Fathers under his jurisdiction, directing them to turn over the mission property by inventory. "I understand," he warned, "that the inventory is to confine itself to that which can be leased, such as productive lands, movable goods, field implements, and necessary utensils which the lessee may need."[16]

On the same day, making the most of the case, as resistance was useless, Fr. Duran wrote to Pico: "I have received the decree of the assembly. . . . I notice that no obligation is imposed on the Indians to help maintain divine worship and its ministers. If we had revenues, or received any perquisites, we should be able to pay for the service; but we have neither the one nor the other. How then shall we live? If the cook

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[15] *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.*, vol. xiv, pp. 57, 61.

[16] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, p. 382.

some fine day should declare he will prepare no more meals; if the singers should decline to sing; if the vaquero, the servant, the sacristan, etc., should refuse to serve any longer; what shall we do? Then forgetting self altogether for the sake of the poor remnant of neophytes, he pleads in a postscript: "To be just, the lessees ought not to take possession of the missions until the Indians have harvested and gathered in the produce and fruits, which they themselves have cultivated, that is to say, before January; for, with what justice might the lessees enjoy what they have not raised and earned?"[17]

Pico and his confederates, however, harbored no such tender sentiments for the Indians. Possibly they feared the Mexican Government might send up another governor or in some way interfere. Whatever the reason may have been, Pico as we have seen, without waiting the Fr. Prefecto's decision, nay, on the same July 1, commanded Fr. Esténaga to surrender the Mission at once.

The Fr. Prefecto's circular with directions to deliver the missions to the commissioners arrived at San Gabriel on July 5 or 6, and Fr. Esténaga, of course, obeyed; and therefore, on July 7, notified the Fr. Prefecto. When his story reached Santa Barbara, Fr. Duran, on July 10, expressed his amazement to Pico as follows:

"From a letter of Fr. Tomás Esténaga, dated the seventh of this month, I have seen that Mission San Gabriel has been delivered to Comisionado Manso. This has caused me great surprise and wonderment; for I had hoped that some regulation would first be formulated for the execution of the Most Excellent Assembly with regard to the leasing of the Mission. That was extremely necessary; for the decree is very indistinct, informal, and not well digested, as the difficulties of reducing it to practice have demonstrated at every step. I had hoped that the intent might not be to operate with violence or to hasten the operation, no matter what the consequences. I had expected that, after so much affection and flattery, as

[17] Ibidem, pp. 382-383.

has been showered upon me, the valuation of the missions would first be obtained through experts; and that, finally, the estates would be let to the highest bidder; but I see that what should have been the last step, was made the first.

"Likewise, I believed that the transfer, when it took place, would be restricted to the productive possessions. By the absolute transfer, however, it seems to me the system of administrators is reintroduced with all its vexations and losses, which we know from experience. The said decree is put into execution without provisions regarding divine worship and its ministers. I, at least, see *that I have committed an error by yielding and concurring through love of harmony and submission to the government,* and that I can take no further active share in this matter, as I have done so far, because Your Excellency so desired. I therefore beg Your Excellency to consider me as having withdrawn so far as active cooperation is concerned, and that I shall content myself with being a purely passive spectator of what Your Excellency and the Most Excellent Assembly may judge expedient to resolve."[18]

Fr. Duran had been deceived and trapped into yielding too promptly. He saw the intent too late, and therefore would have nothing to do with subsequent transactions. Details on the sordid story of the wholesale mission robbery will be found in volumes III and IV of *The Missions and Missionaries.*

It seems that the two comisionados, Andrés Pico and Juan Manso, or perhaps Pio Pico himself, put the Mission and its Indians again in charge of former mayordomo Juan Perez. At all events, when the poor neophytes saw that they were again to be placed under hireling rule, they concluded that it was time they were given their full liberty; and therefore Perez reports on July 10, three days after the transfer of the Mission, "that he conferred with three or four of the most influential Indians of the Mission, in order to dissuade them of the idea they had that the government wanted to keep them in slavery."[19]

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[18] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 384-385.

[19] *Cal. Arch., Dep. Rec.,* vol. xiv, p. 63. Banc. Coll.

In 1834, the conspirators against the missions gave as one reason why the missions should be "secularized," that the neophytes ought to be free to work for themselves and to enjoy the fruit of their labor. The cry was not sincere, as every one knew who used his wits. Indians were kept in the Mission when the Fathers had been discharged, and it was found that the neophytes only changed masters. Now after eleven years the survivors demanded that the paisano chiefs abide by their promises. It was annoying for the latter. Who would in that case do the work and be satisfied with poor food and rags? That is what the neophytes received, besides the floggings, under paisano rule. The missionaries fed and clothed them, at least, and to that end shared with them what was given as alms! The neophytes after all appeared to possess a modicum of intelligence!

There was not much left to be surrendered to "His Excellency" or his emissaries. As early as two years previously, on August 31, 1843, the government of Mexico called upon Fr. Prefecto Duran to report on the state of all the missions. Fr. Duran's laconic reply regarding Mission San Gabriel, dated February 29, 1844, reads:

"San Gabriel.—The queen of all the missions before the secularization with regard to vineyards and live stock, it has nothing but some vineyards in a wretched condition. It is in charge of the Rev. Fr. Thomas Esténaga, who has an assistant in the person of a secular priest lately ordained, the Rev. Antonio M. Jiménez. The population may be about three hundred souls."[20]

The secular priest mentioned by Fr. Duran was the Rev. Antonio Maria Jiménez del Récio. Having come as student from Mexico with the first Bishop of California, he received the Tonsure and the Minor Orders at San Diego on December 19, 1841, and the Priesthood at Santa Barbara in October, 1843. In December, following, he was appointed assistant to Fr. Esténaga, who allowed him to attend Los Angeles. The

[20] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, p. 323.

paisanos there seemed to imagine that a priest needed no consideration nor food. At all events Father Jiménez, on June 18, 1845, writing from Mission San Gabriel to the ayuntamiento or town council, complained that he is not provided with board and lodging when he comes to town to officiate.[21]

Yet, Governor Pico, in the name of the town council and the people of Los Angeles, in September, 1845, asked the Bishop to appoint a pastor for them, in which case they would be in favor of a fee system for his support. The Bishop under date of September 21, replied to Pico that he had no secular priest whom he could appoint; that he would endeavor to secure one, especially as one of the two priests at San Gabriel (Fr. Esténaga) was old, and the other (Rev. Father Jiménez) of too feeble a constitution to comply with all the demands which the people would make on him as resident pastor. He therefore thought it better that the parish of Los Angeles remain subject to San Gabriel, because he did not think it prudent to impose upon the people of Los Angeles the obligation of paying the dues until a resident pastor was provided.[22] The Bishop had probably heard from Father Jiménez.

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[21] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Los Angeles, Pref. and Juzg.*, vol. viii, pp. 329-331.

[22] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, vol. vi, pp. 502-504; *Libro de Borrador*, an. 1845.

CHAPTER XVII

Happy Neophytes Rendered Unhappy.—Fr. Duran on Foolish Emancipation Act.—Indians Brutally Treated at Los Angeles.—What Bartlett Saw at Los Angeles.—Consequences of "Secularization."—Retribution.—United States Patent for San Gabriel Mission Lands.

WE have yet to record how the neophytes fared after the Missions had gone into the hands of indifferent hirelings. The missionaries had collected their savage fathers and forefathers in the shadow of the Cross for the purpose of transforming them into Christians and citizens. Despite the incessant opposition of one kind or another, the Fathers succeeded remarkably well. The neophytes were attached to the missionaries and with them as guides formed a happy patriarchal family, until greed coveted what they had accumulated or what they were supposed to have accumulated. The Fathers were discharged and subjected to the mercy of the administrators for their board and lodging. Then began the ruin, as related in the preceding pages. With regard to the once happy neophytes, Fr. Duran, as early as July 3, 1833, wrote to Governor Figueroa, at a time when the Indian emancipation scheme had been announced: "May God will that all the ideas relating to the welfare of those poor Indians find a happy issue, and may they contribute to their improvement,[1] which is a matter I much doubt on account of what I have seen and of what I have been told concerning the Indians who live at the pueblo of Los Angeles. It distressed me, indeed. Inasmuch as the desires and the object of the Supreme Government are that the Indians should be proprietors and laborers, I have seen with the greatest amazement that in and about said town there are two or three hundred Indian squatters. Beyond comparison they live far more wretched and oppressed

[1] As a matter of fact, they contributed to the utter ruin of the neophytes, as was predicted by the Fathers.

than those in the missions. There is not one who has a garden of his own, or a yoke of oxen, a horse, or a house fit for a rational being. The equality with the white people, which is preached to them, consists in this that these Indians are subject to a white comisionado, but they are the only ones who do the menial work. I saw with mine eyes on Corpus Christi Day the poor Indians sweeping the street through which the procession wended its way; and I was told they do the same for their livelihood. For offences which the white people consider small, or as nothing among themselves, those Indians are *placed over a cannon and given one hundred blows on the naked body*,[2] as the Very Rev. Alexis Bachelot assured me, who witnessed it on St. John's Day. All in reality are *slaves*, or servants of white men who know well the manner of securing their services by binding them a whole year for an advanced trifle. This abuse the natural frailty of the Indian makes possible, because he looks not beyond the present. If he wants to free himself from future servitude by flight, or in any other way, he experiences the full rigor of the law.

"I have seen these things and I have heard them from men more experienced in this particular than myself. I have, of course, asked myself, what will be the result of a general or partial division of their lands and goods, and of a partial or general emancipation of the individuals? Such is my opinion, and such is the opinion of these men. Hence the benevolent (?) ideas of the government, with regard to the plan that the poor Indians should be proprietors and independent of white people, will never be realized, because the Indian evinces no other ambition than to possess a little more savage license, even though it involved a thousand oppressions of servitude. I have seen that the Indians of said pueblo are in far worse condition than the neophytes of the missions in

[2] Under the regulations in the missions no more than twenty-five could be applied. Rarely even that many were inflicted. Yet we do not hear that Vallejo, or Pico, or Bandini protested against the brutality exercised at Los Angeles, and similarly elsewhere, under secular masters.

exchange for a little more freedom to lead vicious and irrational lives. It has seemed my duty to state these views to Your Honor, because I am told that you are formulating a regulation for emancipation. Please consider well and examine with your own eyes, for this matter deserves the wisdom of a whole congress if success is intended."[3] Let us hear what later witnesses observed.

"I saw more Indians about this place," Bartlett notes, regarding Los Angeles, on April 22, 1852, "than in any part of California I had yet visited. They were chiefly 'Mission Indians,' that is those who had been connected with the missions, and derived their support from them until the suppression of those establishments. They are a miserable, squalid-looking set, squatting or lying about the corners of the streets, without occupation. They have now no means of obtaining a living, as their lands are all taken from them; and the missions for which they labored, and which provided after a sort for many thousands of them, are abolished. No care seems to be taken of them by the Americans; on the contrary, the effort seems to be, to exterminate them as soon as possible. One of the most intelligent of them, who was brought to me by the kindness of my friends here, was unacquained with the name of the tribe to which he belonged, and only knew that it had been attached to certain missions."[4]

Next day, Bartlett quotes from the *Los Angeles Star* of the same month concerning the Indians of Mission San Gabriel: "They are represented to have been sober and industrious, well clothed and fed; and seem to have experienced as high a state of happiness as they are adapted by nature to receive. These five thousand Indians[5] constituted a large family, of which the Padres were the social, religious, and we might almost say political heads.

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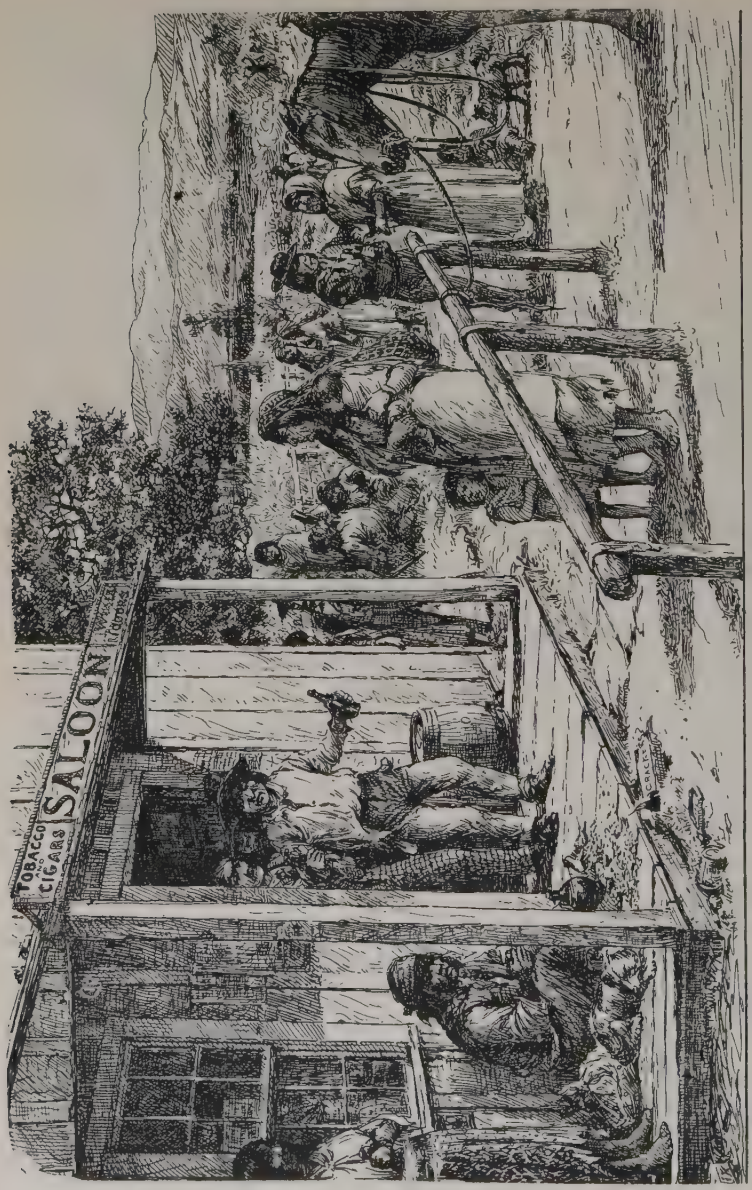
[3] Fr. Duran to Figueroa, July 3, 1833.—*Archb. Arch.*, No. 2148.

[4] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, p. 648.

[5] Number greatly exaggerated. The highest number was 1,701, in 1817.



CAUSE OF DISAPPEARANCE OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS: WHITE MAN'S DISEASES, WHITE MAN'S VICES. WHITE MAN'S WHISKEY—AN ACTUAL SCENE AT LOS ANGELES

"Living thus, this vile and degraded race began to learn some of the fundamental principles of civilized life. The institution of marriage began to be respected, and, blessed by the rites of religion, grew to be so much considered that deviations from its duties were somewhat unfrequent occurrences. The girls, on their arrival at the age of puberty, were separated from the rest of the population, and taught the useful arts of sewing, weaving, carding, etc., and were only permitted to mingle with the population when they had assumed the character of wives.

"When at present we look around and behold the state of the Indians of this country—when we see their women degraded into a scale of life too menial to be even domestics—when we behold their men brutalized by drink, incapable of work, and following a system of petty thievery for a living, humanity cannot refrain from wishing that the dilapidated Mission San Gabriel should be renovated, its broken walls be rebuilt, its roofless houses be covered, and its deserted halls be again filled with its ancient industrious, happy, and contented original population."[6]

Such was the sad fate of the neophytes who had surrendered their savage freedom and their lands in order to become Christians and useful citizens under the guidance of the missionaries. The latter had promised them, in the name of God, life everlasting; and in the name of the Spanish government they promised that they and their children and children's children should quietly possess their lands and whatever they accumulated by their labor. The former promise was redeemed. Life everlasting was enjoyed by the many thousands who had died, for that lay beyond the reach of merciless freebooters. The friars jealously and scrupulously guarded the rights of their wards to the lands and other property at great sacrifice to themselves; but they could not prevent the robbery and destruction of the lands, herds, and other temporal goods owned by the neophytes. One could have expected even

[6] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative,* vol. ii, pp. 82-84.

Pio Pico to harbor some reverence for the place of his birth and Baptism, Mission San Gabriel, where he was born as the son of one of the guards on May 5, 1801. On the contrary, his greed and his mania caused Mission San Gabriel to be one of the first to be forced out of the hands of the missionaries. The friars could not redeem their promise on this question, for they themselves were made homeless. Would the robbers then go unpunished? Not at all. The law of retribution overtook every one of the Mission despoilers.

Let us see how it worked in the case of the chief culprit—Pio Pico. He accomplished his purpose. He had dispossessed the neophytes. Their lands were in the hands of whites or half-whites. He and his brother had the courts confirm to them 532,000 acres of land. When he came to die, he possessed not as much land as would suffice to bury his body. Fr. Ibarra of San Luis Rey, in return for the brutalities suffered at the hands of Pio Pico and his henchmen, prayed that God might give the Mission robbers time to repent. His dying petition was heard in the case of Pio Pico, for the ex-governor lived to the remarkable age of ninety-three years, dying on September 11, 1894, The body was buried from St. Vincent's Church, Los Angeles, on September 13, 1894, after a Requiem High Mass.[7]

In an address delivered before the Historical Society of Los Angeles on November 5, 1894, Mr. H. D. Barrows, a friend of Pio Pico, spoke of the latter's last years as follows: "After the close of the war he returned, I believe, in 1848, and accepting the inevitable, he became thereafter a good American citizen, making his home mostly at beautiful *Ranchito* till he was ejected therefrom by the hard hand of the law[8] two or three years ago, when he was offered an asylum in the house of

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[7] The entry in the Burial Register of St. Vincent's Church reads as follows: "14. Pio Pico.—Die 13 Sept. (1894); sepultum fuit Cadaver Pii Pico, annos 93 nati, Sacramentis refecti.—J. H. Hickey, C. M., Rector."

[8] No harder than he had laid his hand on the Indians and the aged Missionaries in violation of every law. He but reaped what he had sown.

his old friend of more than sixty years' standing, Col. J. J. Warner, southwest of the city, where he continued to reside till shortly before his death, when he came into the city in order to better avail himself of necessary medical attendance. . . . The venerable ex-governor has been laid in his grave—and that, O most pitiful spectacle, a pauper's grave!"[9] Los Angeles papers of March 6, 1921, twenty-seven years later, contained the information that the remains of Pio Pico were removed from Calvary Cemetery, together with those of his wife, to their final resting place, the Walter P. Temple memorial mausoleum on El Puente Rancho. Here they were placed in a crypt belonging to the Temple family.

How much better for Pico if he had let the missions and the neophyte Indians alone! How much better for him if he had abided by the lessons of the little catechism, which he boasted having been in his boyhood able to recite entirely by heart, instead of taking as his guide the insane vaporings of the infidel and illiberal Liberal School of would-be statesmen that produced a Juarez, a Carranza, a Villa, a Calles, and similar unscrupulous demagogues in Mexico, who presume to dispute the right of the Creator to be worshipped and obeyed by His creatures everywhere without any hindrance or interference whatever.

Pico had even sold Church property, which is held sacred the world over. At all events the United States Land Commission, which had been organized by Congress to investigate similar land claims, and subsequently the United States Court, soon discovered that Pico, acting in disregard of the prohibition of the Mexican government, had illegally disposed of the property belonging to the Catholic Church. The United States Land Office accordingly had the land, which was claimed for the Church, surveyed, and then recommended that a Patent be issued to Archbishop José Sadoc Alemany, Archbishop of San Francisco, who acted in the name of the Catholic Church. Areas of the lands thus recovered varied. The following

[9] *Los Angeles Historical Society Annual*, 1894, pp. 60, 63.

description of the land surveyor, which is incorporated in the Patent, tells what was granted in the case of Mission San Gabriel.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To All To Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

Whereas, it appears from a duly authenticated transcript filed in the General Land Office of the United States that pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress approved the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, entitled "An Act to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California," sitting as a board in the City of San Francisco, in which petition he claimed the confirmation to him and his successors of the title to certain church property in California, "to be held by him and them in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated," said property consisting of "church edifices, houses for the use of the clergy and those employed in the service of the church, church yards, burial grounds, gardens, orchards, and vineyards with the necessary buildings thereon and appurtenances," the same having been recognized as the property of said church by the laws of Mexico in force at the time of the cession of California to the United States, and whereas the Board of Land Commissioners aforesaid on the 18th day of December, 1855, rendered a decree of confirmation in favor of the petitioner for certain lands described therein to be held "in the capacity and for uses set forth in his petition," the lands at the Mission of San Gabriel, being described in said decree as follows: "The Church and the buildings adjoining thereto, which are known as the Church and Mission buildings of the ancient Mission of San Gabriel, situated in Los Angeles County, together with the land on which the same are erected, and the curtilage and appurtenances thereto belonging, and the Cemetery enclosed with an adobe wall, and adjoining said Church, also an orchard and garden, situated in front, and south of said Church, at a distance of some seventy or eighty feet from the same, as

the same is enclosed with adobe walls and a fence, being the same which was long used by the Padres of said Mission and the same laid down on numbered 4 in the Atlas before mentioned as "Orchard" and "Garden;" also a vineyard which was used by the said Padres as such, situated in a northerly direction from said Church, at a distance of about sixteen chains therefrom, and is bounded on the West by a road and on the other side by an adobe wall and a fence, being the same tract of land which is described and marked "Vineyard" on said Map.

And whereas it further appears from a certified transcript filed in the General Land Office, that an appeal from said decree or decision of the Commissioners having been taken on behalf of the United States to the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of California, and it being shown to the Court that it was not the intention of the United States to prosecute further said appeal, the said District Court on the 15th of March, 1858, at the regular term "ordered that said appeal be dismissed and said appellees have leave to proceed under the decree of the said Land Commissioners in his favor as a final decree,"

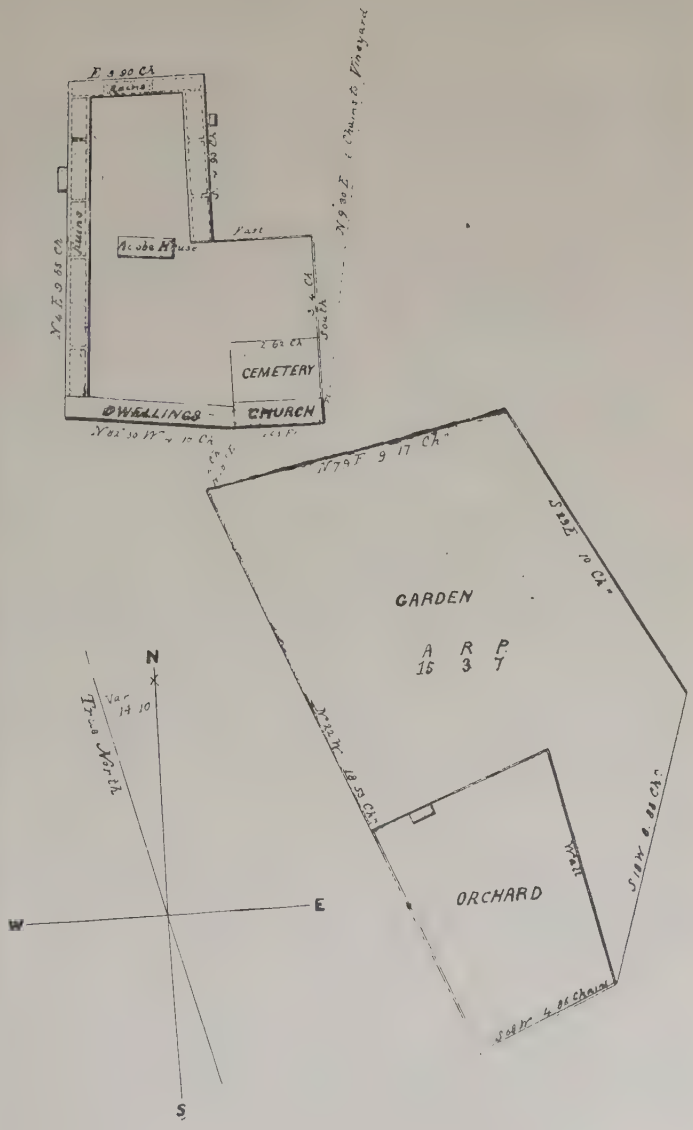
And whereas, under thirteenth section of the said Act of 3rd of March, 1851, there have been presented to the Commissioner of the General Land Office a plat and certificate of the survey of the tract of land confirmed as aforesaid, authenticated on the 4th day of October, 1858, by the signature of the Surveyor General of the public lands in California, which plat and certificate are in the words and figures following, to-wit:

"United States Surveyor General's Office,
San Francisco, California.

"Under and by virtue of the provisions of the 13th section of the Act of Congress of the 3rd of March, 1851, entitled An Act to Ascertain and Settle Private Land Claims in the State of California, and of the 12th section of the Act of Congress approved on the 31st of August, 1852, entitled An

Act Making Appropriations for the Civil and Diplomatic Expenses of the Government for the year ending the 30th of June, 1853, and for other purposes, and in consequence of a certificate of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California, of which a copy is annexed, having been filed in this Office, whereby it appears that the Attorney General of the United States, having given notice that no appeal will be further prosecuted in the case of the United States, Appellants, vs. Jose S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., numbered 425 in the Court Docket at a stated term thereof, held on the 15th day of March, 1858, on motion of the District Attorney; It was ordered, adjudged and decreed that the Claimant have leave to proceed under the Decree of the United States Land Commission heretofore rendered in his favor, as under a final decree! And whereas by the Decree of the Land Commission thus referred to, and of which extracts are also hereunto annexed, the claim of the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., No. 609 on the Docket of the Land Commissioners to the tracts therein mentioned as the 'Mission of San Gabriel,' situated in Los Angeles County in the State of California, was recognized and confirmed, I have caused the said tracts to be surveyed, in conformity with the said decree, and do hereby certify the annexed maps to be true and accurate plats of the said tracts of land as appears by the field notes of the surveyor thereof, made by Henry Hancock, Deputy Surveyor, in the month of July, 1858, under the directions of this Office, which having been examined and approved, are now on file. And I do further certify that under and by virtue of the said confirmation and survey the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, etc., is entitled to a Patent from the United States upon the presentation hereof to the General Land Office for the said tract of land, the same being bounded and described as follows:

"A Tract bounded and described as beginning at the South East corner of the Church marked 'M. S. G. No. I, July 1st, 1858,' from which the quarter section corner on the East boundary of section twelve, Township One South of Range



SAN GABRIEL MISSION PROPERTY AS RESTORED BY THE UNITED STATES

Twelve West, bearing North eighty-three degrees thirty minutes East, is distant one hundred and twelve chains and fifty links.

"Thence according to the true meridian the variation of the magnetic needle being thirteen degrees forty minutes East, North seventy-seven degrees, West two chains and sixty-two links to the South West corner of the Church, and to a red rock, fifteen inches long, twelve inches wide, and ten inches thick, said rock being marked for Station No. 2.

"Thence North, sixty-nine degrees thirty minutes, West four chains and ninety-three links to the last pillar of a corridor, and to the South West end of the dwelling house and marked the same as per instructions, Station.

"Thence North, twenty degrees East, sixty links to the North West corner of the Mission dwelling house nine chains and eighty-five links to the North West corner of the ruins of the Ancient Community of Indians of the Mission and to a post marked as per instructions, Station.

"Thence South, seventy-five degrees East, three chains and ninety links to the North East corner of the same ruins, and to a post marked as per instructions, Station.

"Thence South thirteen degrees, West four chains and ninety-three links to the South East corner of the same ruins and to a Red Rock, twelve inches long, eight inches thick, and six inches wide, said rock being marked as per instructions, Station.

"Thence South, seventy-one degrees, East two chains and sixty-five links to an angle in the Ruins and to a rock fourteen inches long, ten inches wide and fourteen inches thick, said rock being marked as per instructions, Station, and

"Thence South, fourteen degrees forty-five minutes West, two chains and eighty links to the North East corner of a cemetery in the rear of the Church, four chains and sixty-four links to the North East corner of the Church five chains and twenty-eight links to the place of beginning. Containing five acres and ninety-three hundredths of an acre, and being

designated on the plats of the public surveys as lot numbered Forty in Township One South of Range Twelve West of the San Bernardino Meridian.

"A Tract bounded and described as beginning at a Red Rock, twelve inches long, eight inches in diameter and eight inches thick, said Rock bears from the South West corner of the Church, South, thirty-three degrees West distant one hundred and ninety-one links.

"Thence, according to the true meridian, the variation of the magnetic needle being thirteen degrees forty minutes East, South eighty-seven degrees, East nine chains and sixty-seven links to the North East corner of an old wall and to a post and some rubble rocks, station from which a palm tree, fifteen inches in diameter bears South, forty-one degrees West, distant two hundred and ninety-five, and an elder tree bears South, forty-eight degrees and thirty minutes East, distant three chains and sixty-seven links.

"Thence South, one degree West, eight chains to a post in a deposit of small rocks, Station, from which an elder tree three inches in diameter bears South seventy-seven degrees East, distant one hundred and ninety links, and a pear tree eighteen inches in diameter bears North eighty-two West, distant three hundred and fifty-eight links.

"Thence, South, eighteen degrees, West, eight chains and eighty-eight links to a post marked as per instructions, said post being at the South East of the Mission orchard, Station, from which post the easterly side of the Orchard wall ranges North, five degrees West.

"Thence, South, eighty-two degrees thirty minutes West, five chains and ninety links to the South West corner of the wall of the Mission Orchard and to a post established as per instructions, Station.

"Thence, North, five degrees, West, seven chains and seventy-six links to the North West corner of the wall of the Mission Orchard from which the North boundary of the Orchard ranges North eighty-five degrees East, eighteen chains and

fifty-three links to the place of beginning. Containing fourteen acres and fifty-six hundredths of an acre, and being designated on the plats of the public surveys as lot numbered Forty-one, in Township One South of Range Twelve West of the San Bernardino Meridian.

"A tract bounded and described as beginning at a rock ten inches long, nine inches wide and eight inches thick, said rock being marked as per instructions, and being situated at the South West corner of the ruined wall of the Old Mission Vineyard, Station, from which the South East corner of the Church bears South, sixteen degrees, thirty minutes West distant seventeen chains and twenty links.

"Thence, according to the true meridian, the variation of the magnetic needle being thirteen degrees forty minutes, East. South sixty-nine degrees thirty minutes East, twenty-eight chains to a stake at a Prickly Pear fence, Station, from which an elder tree ten inches in diameter bears North six degrees, East, distant sixty-one links.

"Thence South eighty-three degrees East, thirteen chains and fifty links to a stake, Station, from which an elder tree, ten inches in diameter bears North fifty-nine degrees thirty minutes West.

"Thence North eighty-six degrees East, seventeen chains and seventy-two links to a stake at the South East corner of the Vineyard, Station, from which an elder tree, five inches in diameter bears North eighty-one degrees thirty minutes West, distant sixty-three links.

"Thence North, nine degrees West, twenty-five chains and fifty links to a stake, Station, from which an oak tree, twelve inches in diameter bears North fifty-six degrees, fifteen minutes West, distant twenty links.

"Thence North, fourteen degrees fifteen minutes West, eighteen chains and fifty links to an elder tree six inches in diameter, Station.

"Thence South, seventy-one degrees, thirty minutes West, eighteen chains and twenty links to a stake, Station, from which

an oak tree six inches in diameter bears South twenty degrees thirty minutes West, distant two hundred and twenty-eight links, and an elder tree five inches in diameter bears North sixty-five degrees thirty minutes West, distant one hundred and twenty-six links.

"Then North, fifty-eight degrees West, four chains and fifty-six links to a stake, Station, from which an Elder tree, eight inches in diameter bears North sixty-four degrees thirty minutes West, distant fifty-nine links, and a Pomegranate tree, three and one-half inches in diameter, bears South seventy-four degrees thirty minutes West, distant thirty-six links.

"Thence South, thirty-nine degrees West, thirty-nine chains to the place of beginning. Containing one hundred and seventy acres and twenty hundredths of an acre, and being designated on the plat of the public surveys as lot numbered Forty-two in Township One, South of Range Twelve, West of the San Bernardino Meridian.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto signed my name
"And caused the Seal of the said Office to be affixed
"at the City of San Francisco, California, this Fourth
"day of October, 1858.

"J. W. Mandeville,
U. S. Surveyor General."

NOW KNOW YE, That the United States of America, in consideration of the premises and pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress aforesaid of 3d March, 1851, HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED, and by these presents DO GIVE and GRANT, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey and to his successors, "in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated," the tracts of land embraced and described in the foregoing survey, but with the stipulation that in virtue of the 15th section of the said Act, the confirmation of this said claim and this patent "shall not affect the interests of third persons."

To Have and To Hold the said tracts of land with the appurtenances, and with the stipulation aforesaid, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his successors, in trust for the uses and purposes as aforesaid.

In testimony whereof, I, James Buchanan, President of the United States, have caused these letters to be made patent, and the Seal of the General Land Office to be thereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, this Nineteenth day of November, in the SEAL year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States the Eighty-fourth.

By the President,

James Buchanan

By J. B. Leonard, Secretary.

J. N. Granger, Recorder of the General Land Office.

Recorded, Vol. 2, pages 344 to 351, inclusive.
Ed. Jos. Smeson.

Recorded July 24th, A. D. 1874, at 30 minutes past 8 A. M. in Book of Patents, pp. 379 to 384. Records of Los Angeles County, California, by request of Rev. Bishop Francis Mora.

J. W. Gillette,
County Recorder,
Los Angeles Co., Cal.

CHAPTER XVIII

Success or Failure?—Aim of the Missionaries the Same as That of the Apostles.—Different Methods.—In California.—Correct System of the Fathers.—Title Page of the Baptismal Register.—Some Pious Fiction Employed.—The Pious Fund Alone Supplied the Means.—The Various Mission Books.—Herculean Task.—Spiritual Results.—Table.—Agricultural Results.—Table.—What California Owes to the Franciscan Friars.—Stockraising.—Table.

THE activities and the vicissitudes of Mission San Gabriel from the founding in 1771 to the departure of the last Franciscan in 1852 have passed in succession before our mind. It remains for us to record also the results of the missionary efforts in behalf of the Indian converts; for results count, and success alone is usually, though not justly, accepted as proof of the merit of an undertaking. At any rate, superficial observers, on contemplating what is left of the old missionary establishments, are wont to declare that the Missions were failures. Let us see.

What was the object of the Franciscans in coming to California? What end had they in view? The answer to this question determines the decision on the outcome of the missionary endeavors.

It is clear that those missionaries of the Franciscan Order did not appear on this western coast in order to enrich themselves; for all, in accordance with their vow of poverty, died at their post or returned to the mother-house in Mexico as poor as they had come. Nor did their institute or the Catholic Church derive any pecuniary benefit from their presence in the territory. Every other temporal or worldly motive must likewise be eliminated, such as making a name for themselves in any department of human knowledge, be it art, architecture, geology, ethnology, languages, etc., or be it anything that was not materially helpful for attaining their chief end.

Like the Apostles of old, the missionaries came as messengers of the Gospel of Christ with the avowed purpose of making known to the natives "the only true God and Jesus Christ Whom He has sent."

Whereas, however, the first missionaries, the Apostles addressed the mind or intelligence of the people and sought to gain their hearers by force of reasoning, the later Apostles of California had to adopt another method, because they encountered a race of people who did not reason, whose thoughts turned on nothing higher than how to fill their stomach without laboring to produce that which would sustain life. Whoever, therefore, provided what would appease the ever-present hunger of these Indians could count on their affection pretty much as a dog clings to the one that treats him kindly. It was folly to begin the work of conversion by reasoning with creatures so degraded as not to have even an idea of an Almighty Creator; who knew not and cared not whence they came or whither they went. Yet, although they themselves knew not, these brutish people possessed souls that must be led to know, esteem, and obey their God! An herculean task presented itself to the missionaries, but they had been in similar fields before. Trusting to the assistance of the Divine Master who called them, the Fathers began to attract the naked and hungry savages in the way children are attracted. Food was provided for any little service of the Indians. Then those same natives, who loathed work, were taught to raise what they consumed. Next they were induced to cover themselves. Many a stratagem had to be employed before the unreasoning creatures realized that they stood on a much higher plane than the brutes which they had imitated heretofore. Unfortunately, the guards, who should have assisted by their example aggravated the difficulties, as the reader will remember. Those that nevertheless yielded to the argument which an ever hungry stomach could not resist, and who were won over by the extreme gentleness of the missionaries, were gath-

ered together in homes which at first they were allowed to construct after their own fashion in order to keep them from returning to their degrading environments. This meant segregation, the first step in the mission system. Thus the mission family originated. At the head of it stood the missionary, who provided for every necessity by the aid of the neophytes themselves.

Religious instruction, of course, accompanied every step in the progress of the community; but it was administered in homeopathic doses, so to speak, for Christianity demanded sacrifices, especially from these uncouth savages. The converts, therefore, must first learn the advantages of care-free and hunger-free existence before he was told what must be abandoned and what must be adopted. Divine service was made as agreeable, beautiful, and imposing as the means allowed. This impressed and left indelible memories behind. The instructions then became more serious for the Indian who had known no restraint. The Ten Commandments of God were shown to be the standard of life, notably with regard to moral purity of which the Indian in his savage state had no conception. The marriageable girls and single women were collected in an apartment of their own, where they passed the nights unmolested, whilst during the day they were occupied under the eye of a matron who taught them the various feminine arts.

The time of instruction and probation varied from three months to one year and more, according to the capacity and constancy of the neophyte. No one was forced to accept Baptism and permanently to join the Mission family. No one was accepted for Baptism unless he desired and had proved worthy. This method was carried on throughout the Mission period. The results show that the efforts of the Fathers were eminently successful despite the obstacles thrown in the way by those who should have deemed it an honor to aid in the work of conversion.

We now proceed to summarize the results of the wonderful yet simple system at Mission San Gabriel. The chief sources are the various Registers of Baptism, Marriages, Burials and Confirmations. These four books, folio size and bound in flexible leather, were supplied by the College of San Fernando. With the year 1808 the missionaries were directed to report also the annual confessions, holy Communions, and the death-bed Communion or Viaticum. At San Gabriel the four principal volumes are still almost complete.

For both the spiritual and temporal results the Fathers of every Mission were required to compile a table from these volumes at the close of every year, and to transmit it to the Fr. Presidente, who from the separate accounts would compile a General Statistical Table in triplicate. One would go to the College of San Fernando, one to the governor, who forwarded it to the viceroy for the benefit of the king, and one would be retained in the Mission archives. This latter is in our possession, and from it we composed the three tables in this chapter. The Annual Reports begin with the year 1783; the Biennial Reports begin with the year 1798. To those interested in local Mission history these tables tell a graphic story. For more details on this subject the reader may consult our *San Diego Mission,* where explanations are given that apply here as well.

The title page of the Baptismal Register, written by Fr. Junípero Serra, reads as follows in English:

"Blessed be Jesus, Mary, Joseph!

"Book First in which are made the entries of the Baptisms of the gentiles who become Christians in this *Mission of San Gabriel the Archangel,* which pertains to the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando, Mexico, of missionaries of the Order of our Father St. Francis of the Regular Observance; *founded* by the Religious of said Apostolic College at the Expense of the Catholic King of Spain,

Don Carlos III, whom God keep, and from the Pious Fund of California, furnished by order of His Excellency, the Marquis De Croix, Viceroy and Captain General of this New Spain, by direction of the Most Illustrious Inspector General of New Spain, Don Joseph de Galvez of His Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies, and Commissary General of the Army; by the Religious of said Apostolic College, the present Guardian of which is the Rev. Fr. Raphael Verger, Master of Arts, ex-Lector of Sacred Theology, Commissary, etc.; *commenced* on the Solemn Feast of the Nativity of Mary Most Holy, the 8th day of September, in the year of the Lord 1771; its first missionaries being Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon and Fr. Joseph Angel Somera, both of the holy Province of Santiago de Galicia, Preachers Apostolic of said College of San Fernando, Mexico. This book contains 215 folios for use, not counting the first and the last, which remain blank. In testimony whereof I signed at this Mission of San Carlos de Monterey on June 2, 1772.—Fr. Junipero Serra, Presidente."

Fr. Sarria's Auto-de-Visita, as usual, is on the front fly leaf with date of October 14, 1813, Fr. Luis Gil countersigning as Secretary.

The statement that the Mission was established at the expense of the Spanish king requires some explanation. On the founding of a Mission $1,000 were taken from the proceeds of the Pious Fund Estates in Mexico, and turned over by the viceroy, acting in the name of the king, to the College of San Fernando, with which it provided the tools and implements for shops and farm, for household goods and church goods. That is all. The king contributed nothing, nor the royal treasury. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the king, or the viceroy in his name, took charge and through agents managed the Pious Fund Estates, and from the income doled out the annual stipends for each missionary, which was converted into necessary goods, and the traveling expenses of the Fathers to and from California. The Spanish king or his treasury contributed

nothing. It seems, however, that the Fathers had orders to vindicate to the king the honor of going to some expense for the Missions, and therefore this statement is found in all the title pages of the Missions, save that of Mission San Antonio, and those of Missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano founded after the revolt of Hidalgo. For the history of the Pious Fund, the reader is referred to volume one of *The Missions and Missionaries.*

The first fruit of the Mission was a child voluntarily offered for Baptism by its pagan parents, who presumably had joined the Mission family as catechumens. Fr. Angel Somera baptized a boy, two or three years old, on November 27, 1771; somewhat more than two months after the founding of the Mission, and gave him the name Fernando Salvador de los Santos. Corporal Francisco Miguel Aguiar stood sponsor. Incidentally, we learn from the entry that the Indian rancheria at or near which the Mission had been established bore the name Guivichi or Guiichi. The Fathers christened it San Francisco.

Converts were slow in coming for the reasons pointed out in the beginning of this narrative. So the next entry, made by Fr. Somera fully three months later, tells of the Baptism of an orphan boy about five years of age, named Antonio Matias Plano. The sponsor was a Catalonian soldier, Geronimo Planes.

Then six months elapsed before Fr. Antonio Cruzado, on August 15, 1772, could enter a Baptism. By the end of the year, fifteen months since the Cross was planted there, only about forty entries had been made in the Baptismal Register. Only thirty-six additional entries appear in the book at the end of 1773.

Fr. Juan Diaz, who accompanied Captain Juan B. Anza on his first expedition to Monterey, baptized at San Gabriel on March 24, 1774, and even this entry is but number 80 in the Register. The Indians baptized from number 1 to number 72

belonged to the rancheria of Pamoquin. Fr. Juan Figuer baptized a youth of fifteen years on September 5, 1773, who hailed from the rancheria of Juiubit, whom the Fathers had renamed Geronimo. With the year 1774, more Indians joined the Mission, and Baptisms became more numerous, as the reader will see by consulting the Tables. Indeed, by June 23, 1794, twenty-three years after the founding, the First Baptismal Register was filled and showed 2,459 names. Fr. Miguel Sanchez had the honor of making the last entry. He also opened the Second Book, which has no title page. The first entry, numbered 2,460, was made on June 23, 1794.

The following entry is of special interest. "No. 3,276.—Pio de Jesus Pico.—May 6, 1801, in this church of the Mission of San Gabriel, I baptized an infant born on the 5th of May, the legitimate son of Joseph Maria Pico, corporal in charge of the guard of this Mission, and of Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez, and I conferred on him the name Pio de Jesus. The sponsors were Claudio Lopez, retired soldier of the Presidio of San Diego, and his wife, Maria Luisa Cota.—Fr. Francisco Miguel Sanchez."

The Second Book of Baptisms had likewise filled up by April 10, 1819, when Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea entered numbers 6,282 to 6,293; but a number of folios are missing, since the Third Book begins with an entry of Fr. Francisco Gonzalez de Ibarra on December 1, 1820, which is number 6,559 in the whole record.

With the appointment of Fr. Vicente Francisco Sarría as commissary prefect of the California Missions, the dates of the canonical visitations were noted in all the Mission Registers. Hence we see his Auto-deVisita noted on October 14, 1813, with Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada as secretary; and thereafter every three years. His successor, Fr. Mariano Payeras, leaves his Auto-de-Visita on August 13, 1821, with Fr. José Sanchez as secretary. Fr. Narciso Duran notes his review of the Registers on July 31, 1833. He was the last Franciscan

Superior to make the official rounds. After him the first Bishop of California, Rt. Rev. Francisco Garcia Diego, vised the books with his secretary, Fr. Gonzalez Rubio, on March 29, 1843.

Fr. Francisco Sanchez, the Father Salvadierra of H. H. Jackson's *Ramona,* was the last Franciscan to officiate at a Baptism in Mission San Gabriel. This was on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, August 15, 1852. For the entire list of Franciscan and other priests who resided at or visited the Mission, and for the total number of Baptisms administered from year to year, we refer the reader to the accompanying Tables and subsequent List.

Many instructive and interesting details might be gathered from these precious Registers; but we must forego the pleasure of relating them for the sake of brevity and, instead, present the subjoined Table on the Spiritual Results of missionary operations, which was compiled from those volumes. It will enable the reader to see at a glance that, far from being unsuccessful, the heroic friars scored a veritable triumph over all obstacles, though at what cost to themselves the Day of General Retribution alone can reveal. When it is considered that, according to Christian standards, the saving of one immortal soul is of greater moment than the accumulation of all material goods, then the thoughtful reader will understand what it meant to have saved from eternal perdition so many thousand Indian souls, each one equally as precious as his own.

Spiritual Results at Mission San Gabriel

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Viaticum	Neophytes		Total number of Neophytes at Mission
	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	White					Male	Female	
1771	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1772	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1773	76	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1774	148	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1775	198	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1776	305	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1777	352	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1778	453	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	362	.....	.....	.....	.....
1779	515	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1780	579	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1781	776	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1782	852	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	271	.....	.....	.....	.....
1783	952	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	233	.....	.....	.....	.....
1784	1102	.....	218	.....	353	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	739
1785	1287	.....	262	.....	412	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	843
1786	1365	.....	273	.....	474	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	855
1787	1525	.....	294	.....	538	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	942
1788	1652	.....	327	.....	611	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1000
1789	1784	.....	354	.....	703	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1044
1790	1953	.....	396	.....	819	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1078
1791	2191	.....	442	.....	926	.....	.....	.....	721	.....	.....	.....	1204
1792	2299	.....	467	.....	1013	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1219
1793	2415	.....	499	.....	1112	.....	.....	.....	162	.....	.....	.....	1225
1794	2522	.....	534	.....	1181	.....	.....	.....	98	.....	.....	.....	1260
1795	2654	.....	552	.....	1262	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1290
1796	2795	.....	576	.....	1355	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	675	656	1331
1797	2888	.....	596	.....	1451	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1316
1798	2989	21	637	6	1556	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	666	645	1311
1799	3089	.....	670	.....	1707	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1254
1800	3220	55	679	12	1943	32	.....	.....	.....	.....	580	556	1136
1801	3322	.....	723	.....	2044	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1129

SPIRITUAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN GABRIEL—*Continued*

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Viaticum	Neophytes		Total number of Neophytes at Mission
	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	White					Male	Female	
1802	3397	88	746	20	2151	33	.....	.....	.....	...	532	515	1047
1803	3605	.....	815	.....	2251	.....	.....	...	...	.....	.....	.....	1123
1804	3891	128	912	27	2365	48	...	...	..	....	665	629	1294
1805	4045	.....	941	.....	2457	.....	.....	.....	...	....	.....	.....	1314
1806	4094	164	973	39	2704	71	.....	...	...	.....	579	473	1052
1807	4189	.....	994	.....	2785	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	1097
1808	4244	207	1041	52	2865	79	540	320	..	10	596	463	1059
1809	4482	.....	1071	.....	2974	.....	553	342	..	15	.....	.....	1174
1810	4584	247	1100	61	3038	92	480	260	...	9	672	527	1199
1811	5094	274	1238	63	3168	97	468	230	...	9	825	725	1550
1812	5230	298	1259	70	3290	107	460	150	...	10	843	707	1550
1813	5474	320	1313	73	3417	119	500	220	...	20	889	789	1678
1814	5647	346	1353	75	3566	124	490	150	..	38	889	790	1679
1815	5791	369	1380	80	3694	129	1025	290	....	41	902	765	1667
1816	5918	398	1417	87	3820	140	1030	270	....	48	891	753	1644
1817	6109	433	1453	95	3935	150	1040	300	.....	54	923	778	1701
1818	6252	471	1500	106	4111	167	1020	304	...	53	906	738	1644
1819	6402	504	1536	110	4236	184	1030	309	.....	34	871	725	1596
1820	6589	536	1568	113	4361	194	1042	324	....	42	899	737	1636
1821	6785	589	1598	121	4502	212	980	360	....	42	872	754	1626
1822	6906	624	1638	130	4635	226	984	370	.....	34	862	725	1593
1823	7115	671	1674	137	4761	140	995	380	.....	36	903	740	1643
1824	7263	709	1713	146	4896	166	.....	.....	.....	....	858	786	1644
1825	7376	756	1758	260	5028	182	870	458	....	56	835	759	1594
1826	7448	773	1781	265	5196	186	550	250	.....	45	823	742	1565
1827	7495	782	1808	266	5287	192	475	245	...	60	769	669	1438
1828	7556	801	1833	267	5393	204	316	172	....	34	743	643	1386
1829	7629	816	1847	268	5452	207	.....	.....	.	.	731	652	1383
1830	7679	827	1860	269	5512	216	235	75	.	22	722	649	1371
1831	7759	844	1877	274	5558	222	245	90	705	16	735	663	1398
1832	7823	876	1916	282	5682	238	230	90	.....	29	678	642	1320

SPIRITUAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN GABRIEL—*Continued*

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Viaticum	Neophytes		Total number of Neophytes at Mission
	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	White					Male	Female	
1833	8000				5714				183				
1834	8025				5734								
1835	8060				5761								
1836	8118				5796								
1837	8201				5826								
1838	8226				5871								
1839	8348				5915								
1840	8421				5945								
1841	8475				5963								
1842	8556				5979								
1843	8647				6004								
1844	8725				6026								
1845	8841				6048								
1846	8906												
1847	8939												
1848	8993												
1849	9055												
1850	9123												

Early in 1826, the City of Los Angeles was allowed to have its own Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Registers. Thenceforth it was considered a parish independent of Mission San Gabriel, although without an independent pastor, since Our Lady of the Angels of Los Angeles enjoyed divine services regularly only through the kindness of Fathers Sanchez and Boscana, the missionaries of San Gabriel. The first Baptism entered in the new parish book was dated March 4, 1826, Fr. Geronimo Boscana officiating. No other name besides his appears in the Register till June 27, 1831, when he baptized there for the last time. By that date, Fr. Boscana had entered 287 Baptisms. The Registers are complete and they may be found at Our Lady of the Angels, or Plaza Church, Los Angeles. By December 24, 1848, as many as 2,003 baptismal entries had been made. This last, by Fr. Blas Ordáz, was also the last in Book One. The Second Book of Baptisms for the parish of Los Angeles opens on December 31, 1848, and with a new serial number. On the first flyleaf in the hand of Fr. Francisco Sanchez, we find this note: "There is a silver Baptismal shell in the service of this church, no one knows of which Mission it may be. When it becomes known, it must be returned or paid for.—Fr. Francisco de Jesus Sanchez."

The first twenty-five entries are not signed, nor is the officiating priest named. Then with number 36 and extending to number 354, in November, 1850, the entries are signed "Doctor Sebastian Bongioanni, Cura." In the Burial Register, Father Bongioanni writes: "I received this book on February 23, 1849."

The *Burial Register* of Our Lady of the Angels begins with an entry by Fr. Boscana on March 3, 1826. The body interred was that of Pedro Garcia, son of Felipe Garcia and wife, Petra Alcantara Lugo. Pedro had been married to Maria Rafaela, an Indian neophyte of Mission San Diego. He received the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, and he was buried in the cemetery of the parish church.

Some of the patients made good use of the facilities which the zealous missionaries at San Gabriel afforded them for receiving the Sacraments, as may be seen from the following letter written to Captain José de la Guerra by Fr. Nuez on October 24, 1818. "Yesterday," he tells the captain, "there died D. Juan, who became a saint after having in the course of his infirmity confessed more than forty times, and received holy Communion more than six times. He died in my arms fully conscious, and with the Name of Jesus on his lips." (*De la Guerra Papers.*)

On June 25, 1840, Fr. Esténaga entered number 500. On July 10, 1840, begins a new serial number on the same page without any particular heading. By March 29, 1843, when Bishop Garcia Diego viewed the books, as many as 112 burials had taken place. There were many Indians among those interred, who hailed from San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, the northern missions of Lower California, even from New Mexico and the Colorado River, which of itself is significant. In 1844 to 1846, there were more Indian than white burials. By the end of 1846, the second serial number of burials had reached 277.

The title page and the first entries of the Register of Burials at Mission San Gabriel are missing. Number 4 was entered by Fr. Vicente Fuster on August 6, 1774. This first Book of Burials closes with entry number 2,350, made by Fr. José de Miguel on October 23, 1804. Four entries are missing, for the Second Book of Burials begins with the entry of number 2,355, made by Fr. José de Miguel on November 17, 1804. Fr. José A. Urrestí was stationed at San Gabriel with Fr. Miguel at this time.

An extraordinary number of Fathers died and were buried at San Gabriel in the course of its history. The entries will be reproduced in connection with the biographical sketches.

The title page of the Marriage Register was written by Fr. Junípero Serra; but it is missing, as also the first entry.

The second couple to receive the blessing of the Church according to the regulations was Spanish. After the year 1830 till 1837, a great many folios are missing. The appended Tables will show the number from year to year.

Another book prescribed for all the missions was the *Register of Confirmations*. The title page of the one at Mission San Gabriel was drawn up by Fr. Junípero Serra in his usual clean and exact style, on November 4, 1778, on which day he administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to 103 persons, being assisted by Fathers Vicente Fustér and Gregorio Amúrrio, visiting missionaries, and by the resident Fathers of the Mission, Fr. Francisco Miguel Sanchez and Fr. Antonio Cruzado. On subsequent days, Fr. Serra confirmed others, so that when he departed, on November 12, he had confirmed 352 persons, nearly all of whom were Indian neophytes. There was always one padrino or sponsor for the men and boys, and one madrina for the women and girls.

His successor, Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén also confirmed in various years, the last time in November, 1794, after which no one possessed the faculty till November, 1831, when Vice-Prefecto Fr. Mariano Sosa of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, arrived and by permit of Fr. Presidente Duran confirmed. Among those who presented themselves at the Mission was William Edward Hartnell, an English convert, who had married Maria Teresa de la Guerra. He later became inspector of the missions. In June, 1833, Fr. Duran confirmed at the Mission. The first Bishop of California, Rt. Rev. Garcia Diego, administered the Sacrament of Confirmation in March, 1843. The entire list will be found in the Table of Spiritual Results.

Material Results at Mission San Gabriel—Agricultural Products

Year	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas		Lentils		Garbanzos		Habas		TOTAL Fanegas		Bushels	
	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv
1773	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	21	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	.....	58
1774	6	90	.....	....	1 1/12	240	7	30	.....	.....	....	..	.	..	..	..	14	360	23	600
1775	.....	80	...	....	....	240	.....	30	...	.....	....	...	...	.	.	.....	.....	350	.....	583
1776	.....	48	.....	.....	....	440	.....	7	.....	.....	..		.	..	.	....	.....	495	.....	825
1777	.....	109	.....	25	...	450	.....	21	....	..		..		..	..	..	... ..	605	.....	1008
1778	.....	55	....	7	.....	836	.....	22	....	63		..	..	1	.....	.	.....	984	.....	1640
1779	.....	350	.....	.....	.....	1200	.....	136	.....	56	..	1	....	1	.....	.....	.....	1744	.....	2907
1780	.....	640	...	...	.....	1070	.....	166	....	...	...	9	.	7	.....	.	.....	1892	.....	3153
1781	.....	475	...	....	.....	1200	.....	199	.....	.....	....	4	...	3	.....	..	.....	1881	.....	3135
1782	.....	170	.....	.....	.....	460	.....	90	.....	.	...	2	...	11	.....	.....	.....	733	.....	1222
1783	.....	330	...	....	....	1100	.....	160	.....	.....	....	..	...	26	.....	.....	.....	1616	.....	2693
1784	.....	1701	.....	.....	.....	1575	.....	150	.....	.....	.....	21	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	3449	.....	5748
1785	8	1500	.....	.....	11⅙	1000	6½	201½	.....	.....	1/24	5	½	18	..	..	27	2725	45	4542
1786	87	1730	.....	.....	14	700	6⅓	106	.....	.....	1 12	5⅓	½	2	....	.....	108	2543	180	4238
1787	127	2050	.....	.....	14½	1000	5	211	1/24	4	.....	....	½	4	.....	.....	147	3269	245	5448
1788	85	1380	.....	.....	73	1000	6	73	.....	.....	1/24	¾	½	⅔	..	.....	165	2454	275	4090
1789	.....	3084	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	131	...	...	.....	5	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3221	.....	5368
1790	160	2375	.....	.....	13	1600	6	110	.....	.....	1 24	2	½	12	....	.....	180	4099	300	6832
1791	178	3700	.....	.....	16	1680	17	246	.....	.....	1/24	2	⅔	4	...	....	212	5632	337	9387
1792	200	2730	.....	....	17	1600	6	40	..	.....	1/12	3	½	10	..	..	224	4383	373	7305

MATERIAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN GABRIEL—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS—*Continued*

	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas		Lentils		Garbanzos		Habas		TOTAL Fanegas		TOTAL Bushels	
Year	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv
1793	159	1990	.....	.....	13	400	6	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	⅔	4	.....	.....	179	2422	298	4037
1794	200	2400	.....	.....	12½	800	7	10	1/12	4½	1/24	½	½	17	1/24	11	220	3243	367	5405
1795	179	2600	.....	.....	12	1300	3½	123	1⅙	34	1/24	1½	½	30	1	29	197	4118	328	6863
1796	218	4500	.....	.....	20	1000	5	28	1⅙	13	1/12	0	½	16	1	7½	246	5575	410	9292
1797	254	3300	.....	.....	19	300	7½	50½	½	½	1/12	0	⅔	12	½	5½	283	3669	472	6115
1798	254	2800	.....	.....	12	800	8	200	½	1	.....	.....	½	3	⅓	1¼	275	3805	458	6342
1799	280	3000	.....	.....	15	800	8	65	⅓	0	.....	.....	⅔	1	¼	3	304	3869	507	6448
1800	250	4000	.....	.....	20	2000	8	274	⅓	0	.....	.....	½	⅔	⅙	2	279	6277	464	10462
1801	268	3696	.....	.....	30	1837	10	165	¼	1	.....	.....	⅔	19	⅙	2	309	5720	515	9533
1802	282	2800	.....	.....	17	1200	5½	220	⅓	0	1/12	0	1	5	½	0	307	4225	512	7042
1803	189	4112	.....	.....	19	2550	7	178	⅙	0	.....	.....	1	18	1	0	217	6858	362	11430
1804	110	2600	.....	.....	8	1600	6	14	1/12	8	.....	.....	1/12	4	1/12	7	124	4233	207	7055
1805	.....	1600	.....	.....	.....	500	.....	122	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2228	.....	3712
1806	300	4800	.....	.....	16	2400	12	123	¼	0	.....	.....	1/12	16	¼	0	329	7339	548	12232
1807	280	7000	.....	.....	9	1600	14	370	1/12	16	.....	.....	½	10	½	20	304	9016	507	15027
1808	80	1700	.....	.....	5	1000	5	260	.....	.....	.....	.....	½	21	1/12	18	91	2999	152	4998
1809	50	700	.....	.....	13	2000	8	300	½	18	.....	.....	1	36	5½	6	78	3060	130	5100
1810	230	4300	.....	.....	8	1300	6	225	½	30	.....	.....	½	6	½	10	246	5871	410	9785
1811	202	6500	.....	.....	12	4200	8	450	½	30	.....	.....	1	16	½	30	234	11226	390	18710
1812	200	5000	.....	.....	12	3000	6	150	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	218	8150	363	13583

MATERIAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN GABRIEL—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS—*Continued*

	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas		Lentils		Garbanzos		Habas		TOTAL Fanegas		TOTAL Bushels	
Year	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv	Plant	Harv
1813	220	5000	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	.....	.....	225	5062	342	8437
1814	92	700	3	50	14	3400	5	131	1/6	13	.....	.....	1/6	6	.....	.....	114	4300	190	7167
1815	270	5400	3	92	12	2100	8	312	.....	.....	.....	.....	1/4	10	.....	.....	293	7914	488	13190
1816	280	1100	4	40	26	6500	5	310	1/6	2	.....	.....	1/6	1	1/6	2	316	7955	527	13258
1817	160	4600	4	50	25	8000	8	600	1/4	5	.....	.....	1/4	9	1/4	4	198	13268	330	22113
1818	50	1800	4	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	1/2	18	.....	.....	1/2	2/3	1/2	17	56	1896	93	3160
1819	165	3500	4	25	8 1/2	1600	5	300	1	60	.....	.....	1/2	3	7	6	191	5494	318	9157
1820	165	4000	.....	.....	9	3200	7	255	1	250	.....	.....	1/2	18	1	38	184	7761	307	12935
1821	237	11000	.....	.....	18	7000	10	1400	1	132	.....	.....	3/4	39	4	10	271	19571	362	32618
1822	100	800	.....	.....	14	3000	7	260	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	121	4060	202	6767
1823	330	3000	.....	.....	7	1500	7	700	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	22	.....	.....	352	5222	587	8703
1824	393	2036	21	105	7	600	7	000	8	500	.....	.....	2	10	.....	.....	438	3251	730	5418
1825	270	2900	.....	.....	6	1600	5	158	3	94	.....	.....	2	16	.....	.....	286	4768	477	7947
1826	245	1000	.....	.....	8	1000	2	34	1	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	256	2062	427	3437
1827	103	1200	3	19	12	2200	4	150	2	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	124	3594	207	5990
1828	137	2200	8	124	8	1100	5	85	4	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	162	3557	270	5928
1829	183	1000	4	30	20	100	6	350	1	5	.....	.....	1	11	1	5	216	1501	360	2502
1830	200	2300	16	90	7	2200	5	300	2	25	.....	.....	1	0	1	10	232	4925	387	8208
1831	250	1400	6	12	4	400	3	13	2	7	1	5	6	12	3	6	275	1855	458	3092
1832	200	180	20	60	8	55	4	10	2	0	.....	..	1	0	1	0	236	305	393	508

Turning to the achievements in the material order of things, which to the less spiritually inclined appeal more strongly, the Table on Agricultural Results will be highly illuminating. There is much more involved than those dry figures disclose, and which renders the success of the missionaries so much the more remarkable. In the first place, the Franciscans were not laymen or farmers, but priests and theologians, who were more acquainted with learned books than with the plough. In transforming the savages into civilized beings, they themselves practically turned Indians in order to be all to all. Though they loved their ascetical books far more than keeping the accounts of the products of the Mission, their account books were models of scrupulous dealings. In the second place, the laborers had to be recruited from a people that hated work of any kind. They succeeded, nevertheless, although at the expense of their own health and peace of mind. In the third place, those patient friars, despite primitive implements, rendered vast tracts of waste land, which never had produced anything but weeds or wild fruits, fertile, so fertile, indeed, that unscrupulous paisanos coveted them and never rested until the Indian owners had been dispossessed of them. The Missions were established on Indian soil, which was theirs by every right, and which was cultivated by them alone under the supervision of the missionaries for their own subsistence and for the maintenance of divine worship. This undisputable fact makes the crime of the heartless landgrabbers all the more enormous. On this land, redeemed by the unwonted energy of the neophytes, the Indian converts produced the many thousands of bushels of grain and vegetables on which annual reports were demanded by the royal government, besides the various fruits and grapes for which no accounts were asked. Furthermore, mechanical arts thrived at the Missions as everything, from hats to shoes, was made in the various shops under the guidance and supervision of the missionaries. No reports were demanded from this department, wherefore it must be

left to the reader to figure how much cloth, leather, etc., was required to clothe a family of 1,600 men, women, and children. In the fourth place, it should be remembered that, by transforming the savages into Christians and law-abiding subjects, the missionaries relieved the State of the menace of expensive Indian wars. Under the missionaries the neophytes caused no trouble. Destruction of life and property followed the ousting of the missionaries. What if the missionaries had not collected so many thousands under the shadow of the Cross?

The third Table on Live Stock tells its own story. This supplied the meat, tallow for candles, leather, wool, milk, cheese and butter, besides the beasts of burden. Like the grain and fruits, these animals were introduced into California by the missionaries. It will be seen that the commonwealth owes much to the Franciscan friars who thus far have received little recognition.

Material Results at Mission San Gabriel—Live Stock

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Horses	Mules	Total
1773	38	30	12	20	11	17	128
1774	65	66	34	18	19	16	218
1775	75	84	35	18	17	15	244
1776	102	94	56	24	23	11	310
1777	142	132	73	45	33	17	442
1778	221	410	93	70	44	25	863
1779	346	345	295	75	70	24	1155
1780	450	500	400	80	66	32	1528
1781	500	820	416	76	69	30	1911
1782	600	968	610	60	87	30	2355
1783	730	1300	700	70	107	26	2933
1784	900	1900	1000	140	147	36	4123
1785	1200	2040	1380	150	141	34	4945
1786	1540	2400	900	160	156	27	5183
1787	1960	3000	1000	180	182	39	6361
1788	2400	3000	890	180	246	39	6755
1789	2890	3578	830	190	301	35	7824
1790	3800	4980	818	215	381	39	10233
1791	4523	6276	900	200	440	39	12378
1792	4750	7250	550	180	615	38	13383
1793	5050	8500	280	160	700	41	14731
1794	5500	9050	300	150	780	43	15823
1795	5800	9200	280	80	900	45	16305
1796	6090	10596	201	100	945	44	17976
1797	6200	11350	290	150	1120	50	19160
1798	6060	11500	240	200	1200	68	19268
1799	6000	11000	118	200	1140	80	18538
1800	5900	12100	80	240	1100	80	19500
1801	6000	12500	40	240	1340	100	20220
1802	7500	13040	100	300	1430	100	22470
1803	9500	12000	200	300	1130	75	23205
1804	8000	13000	100	120	1180	90	22490
1805	8000	9000	80	16	1018	92	18206
1806	8500	10000	60	16	1236	72	19884
1807	9800	10000	80	22	950	105	20975

MATERIAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN GABRIEL—LIVE STOCK—*Continued*

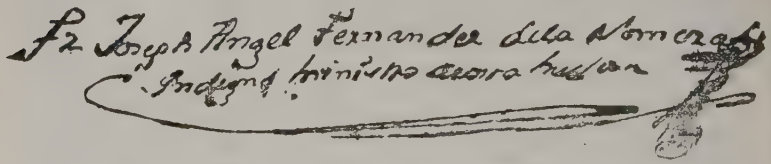
Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Horses	Mules	Total
1808	9600	12000	130	120	1020	120	22990
1809	8000	9000	140	88	880	80	18188
1810	9800	9500	110	100	720	90	20320
1811	11000	10000	150	82	850	140	22222
1812	12000	10000	120	80	810	130	23140
1813	13000	11000	000	000	920	190	25110
1814	13500	10000	150	120	580	205	24555
1815	13600	10300	160	131	639	180	25010
1816	12900	10500	130	160	560	120	24370
1817	13000	10300	140	170	630	118	24358
1818	15000	11000	130	280	830	117	27357
1819	16000	13000	152	289	888	130	30459
1820	15000	12000	156	292	904	137	28489
1821	14000	13000	130	280	1200	115	28725
1822	13848	12900	110	298	1130	110	28396
1823	13625	12100	15	270	609	97	26716
1824	13304	7100	14	208	510	94	21230
1825	13895	7068	20	225	525	65	21798
1826	15300	10000	38	215	724	91	26368
1827	18400	14000	50	150	1400	130	34130
1828	26300	13500	50	125	2035	135	42145
1829	25000	15000	150	200	2000	100	42450
1830	23500	14400	95	140	2100	125	40360
1831	20500	13554	76	98	1700	120	36048
1832	16500	8500	40	60	1200	42	26342

CHAPTER XIX

BIOGAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE FRANCISCANS WHO DIED AT MISSION SAN GABRIEL OR FROM THERE RETIRED TO MEXICO

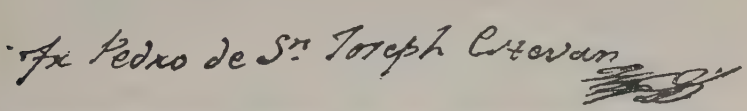
Fr. José Angel Somera.—Fr. Pedro de San Joseph Estéban.—Fr. Christobel Oramas.—Fr. Isidoro Barcenilla.—Fr. Francisco Miguel Sanchez.—Fr. Antonio Cruzado.—Fr. Francisco Dumetz.—Fr. José de Miguel.—Fr. Francisco Ramon Fernandez Ulibarri.—Fr. Joaquin Pascual Nuez.

FR. ANGEL SOMERA set out from the missionary College of San Fernando in October, 1770. He was accompanied by nine friars who, like him, were destined for the missions in Upper California, the territory that today forms the State of California. They reached Tepíc on the Pacific coast after a long journey over land. At Tepíc they were forced to wait till January 20, 1771, when finally an opportunity offered to



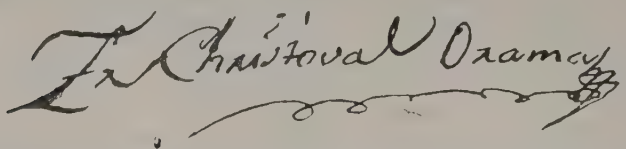
embark at San Blas in the *San Antonio* for Monterey. On his arrival, Fr. Somera was appointed with Fr. Pedro Cambon to found Mission San Gabriel and thus he became one of the founders of that Mission. The two friars re-embarked for their destination on July 7, 1771, and landed at San Diego a week later. On August 6, escorted by ten soldiers, the two Fathers left San Diego to carry out the instructions of Fr. Presidente Junípero Serra. It was on September 8, 1771, that they established Mission San Gabriel. Toward the end of August, or early in September, 1772, Fr. Somera and Fr. Cambon retired to Loreto in Lower California, on account

of ill health. We find Fr. Somera baptizing once at San Fernando de Velicata, on September 27, 1772. From here Fr. Palou, in his *Noticias* (vol. i, page 230), says that Fr. Somera embarked for San Blas on October 19, 1772. Nothing more is known about this Franciscan missionary; nor is anything known of his antecedents. In his *Vida* (page 120) Fr. Palou mentions him only as a member of the College of San Fernando, which would mean that he joined the College and that he may have been a native of Mexico. His full name, as he himself entered it in the Baptismal Register, was Fr. Joseph Angel Fernandez de la Somera.



Fr. Pedro de San Joseph Estevan is mentioned the first time in a letter which Fr. Guardian Thomas de Pangua addressed to Fr. Lasuen on January 24, 1794. From this source we learn that Fr. Estevan was a native of Castile, Spain, and had made his profession in the Franciscan Order at the monastery of Habana, Cuba, in the year 1783. Ten years later he joined the College of San Fernando. He was then thirty-eight years of age and a "commendable subject," as Fr. Pangua states in his letter. Fr. Estevan arrived at Monterey perhaps in January, 1795, since we find him officiating at several Baptisms in that month. At Mission San Antonio, he baptized from April 21 to September 14, 1795. From here he was transferred to Mission San Diego, where he officiated from November 14, 1795, to July 1, 1797. On the way down, he baptized once, on November 2nd, at Mission San Juan Capistrano. At this same mission he administered the Sacrament on October 24, 1796. His next field of activity was at San Gabriel Mission, where his name is found repeatedly in the Registers from August 2, 1797, to July 27, 1802. During this time, he must have visited Mission Purisima, for we find his name there in the Register under date of October 17, 1797. At San Juan Capistrano, too, his name appears on July 19, 1797, May 27,

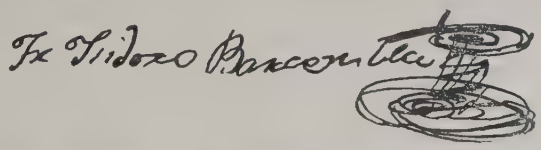
1799, and from October 5 to 24, 1800. That same month, on 22, he officiated at the burial of Fr. Vicente Fuster, the hero of San Diego during the disaster of 1775. Thereafter, it seems, Fr. Estevan's predilection for Mission San Juan Capistrano vanished, for his name is not found again in that Register. It was apparently some time before October, 1802, that he retired to the College in Mexico, having previously received the permit from both the viceroy and the governor.



"Fr. Cristóbal Oramas," Fr. Juan Sancho, the guardian of the College, wrote to Fr. Presidente Lasuen under date of April 1, 1786, "is scarcely one year professed; but before entering the College he had been for five years acting curate. He is a thorough religious, a man of noble disposition and exemplary conduct." Fr. Oramas left Mexico with five other Fathers, in April, 1786, and landed probably at Monterey during the same year. His name is found for the first time in the Baptismal Register of Mission San Buenaventura on December 8, 1786; and again from April 2 to 22, 1787. When Mission Santa Barbara was finally founded, Fr. Presidente Lasuen appointed Fr. Oramas associate missionary to Fr. Paterna. He figures in the Register of that mission from January 4, 1787, to August 20, 1790. On August 7, 8, and 9, he administered the Sacrament of Baptism at Mission Purisima, by permit of Fr. Fuster, its resident senior missionary. The following year, he was transferred from Santa Barbara to Mission Purisima and began to enter Baptisms on December 28, 1789. His last entry there is dated November 2, 1792. During this time, his name appears in the Registers of Mission San Luis Obispo; namely, on August 16, 1788; March 3 and 5, 1791; May 19 and October 25, 1792. His next assignment was Mission San Gabriel, where he officiated from November 17,

1792, to September 23, 1793. Thereupon, probably because his health was failing, he asked for permission to retire from the missions. In January, 1793, the Fr. Guardian granted his request. Viceroy Revilla Gigedo's permit was dated the following December 24. We find Fr. Oramas once more in the Baptismal Register of Mission San Diego, on October 13 and 14, of that year. At the chapter held at the College in Mexico, in 1795, Fr. Oramas received one vote for the office of Guardian.

"*Rev. P. Fr. Ysisdro Barcenilla.*—My esteemed Father and Señor: Dominus det tibi pacem. In virtue of this I give Your Reverence my permission to retire to the College on account of the repeated entreaties which for more than a year you have directed to me for that purpose and on account of the last petition sent to me, in which you explain that, even after having consulted the physician at Monterey and submitting to his prescriptions, the nervous malady from which you are suffering has so increased that, though it leaves you quieted a little while for a few days, you are now incessantly attacked, thus frequently depriving you of repose, patience, tranquility, and cheerfulness of mind, all of which are absolutely necessary in the management of the neophytes and the pagans. Therefore you fear you should render yourself odious and even lose your mind.



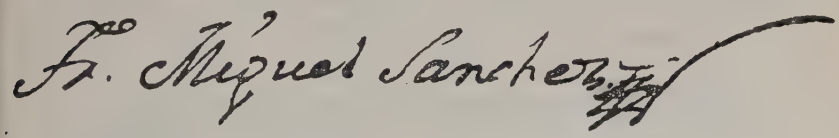
"I regret this very much, because only little more than three years have elapsed since Your Reverence came for the missions, on which occasion you were immediately destined for the founding of Mission San José, and because during all this time Your Reverence has served very well until now as a good religious with much application and activity. God reward you for it. On this same day, I am asking the governor in the name of Your Reverence for the necessary permit, so that you may again embark. God our Lord keep Your Reverence

in His grace many years. San Luis Obispo, July 31, 1800.—Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen."

This letter explains itself. Fr. Barcenilla had arrived in California from the College of San Fernando in 1797. He officiated at Baptisms from September 4, 1797, to March 26, 1802, by which date the new Mission of San José had received 644 Indians into the Christian fold. Fr. Barcenilla was seen outside his mission only a few times. While stationed at San José, he visited Mission San Carlos, presumably for the purpose of consulting the physician at the presidio of Monterey. We find him baptizing at this mission on February 13, 1800. He entered a Baptism also at Mission Santa Clara on May 14, of the same year. The Register of Mission Santa Cruz contains his name on September 27, 1801, and on February 13, 1802. The poor sufferer was finally transferred to Mission San Gabriel, where we find him officiating from December 9, 1802, to October 4, 1804. During this time he seems to have made an excursion to Mission San Juan Capistrano; for he made an entry there on June 30, 1803. It was apparently before the end of 1804 that he departed for Mexico.

Fr. Francisco Miguel Sanchez was one of the thirty Franciscan friars who had volunteered for the missions in California when these were placed in charge of the College of San Fernando. The thirty friars left the College, in October, for Tepic on the west coast. Here, at the hospice of Santa Cruz, that belonged to the Franciscans, they awaited an opportunity to sail from the port of San Blas. On January 20, 1771, ten of their number embarked for the new mission field in Upper California; while the rest, destined for Lower California and among whom was our Fr. Sanchez, left for their destination the following February. But adverse weather drove them to the port of Manzanillo, whence they made their way overland through Sinaloa and after incredible hardships they were rescued and brought over to Loreto on November 24, 1771. With Fr. Senra, Fr. Sanchez was assigned to Mission Todos Santos, where he remained till 1773 when the missions of Lower Cali-

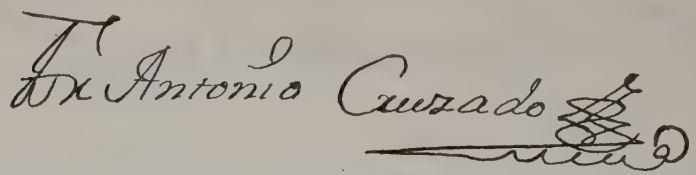
fornia were ceded to the Dominicans. On August 23, 1774, he set out from Mission San Fernando de Velicatá with the guards under Lientenant José Francisco de Ortega and reached San Diego Mission on September 26, 1774. Whether he tarried here any length of time cannot be learned, since the first Mission Registers of San Diego were lost at the time of the revolt on November, 1775. Subsequently, Fr. Sanchez was appointed for Mission San Gabriel, where his first entry in the Baptismal Register is dated September 25, 1775. He continued here until some time early in July, 1792, during which time he visited San Juan Capistrano Mission and baptized there on April 13, 1779, and on May 24, 1782. From July 22, 1792, to October 17, 1797, his name appears with interruptions in



the Registers of Mission Santa Clara. Meanwhile, he administered Baptism also at Mission San Luis Obispo, on May 30, 1793; at San Carlos Mission, on July 23, 1793; and at Mission San Francisco, on November 26, and September 21, 1797. He must have made a flying visit to Mission San Gabriel in the summer of 1794, for his name appears in its Registers on June 23. It is the last Baptism entered in the book and bears number 2,459. Also the second Baptismal Register of San Gabriel Mission contains the name of Fr. Sanchez under number 2,549, dated March, 1795. Before this, however, he seems to have been back at Santa Clara, where his name appears on July 13, 1794, and again the next year, 1795, on March 24. The various dates make the movements of Fr. Sanchez extremely puzzling. He returned to San Gabriel to stay there, in October, 1797; nor did he leave the mission again till his death, which occurred in July, 1803. His last entry was dated on the preceding March 16. It is a singular fact that, in his official list of the Fathers for the year 1796, Fr. Presidente

Lasuen stations Fr. Sanchez at both Mission San Gabriel and Mission Santa Clara.

In 1797, Fr. Sanchez asked for his passport to Mexico, since he had served the required ten years. But, after receiving it, he decided to pass his days among the poor neophytes. The entry of his burial reads as follows: "No. 2203.—On July 28, 1803, I gave ecclesiastical burial, in the church of this Mission of San Gabriel the Archangel, to the body of the Rev. Fr. (Francisco) Miguel Sanchez, preacher apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico and member of the holy Province of Aragon. He received the holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. The body is buried on the Epistle side, beneath the steps to the main altar. In testimony whereof I have signed, Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago."

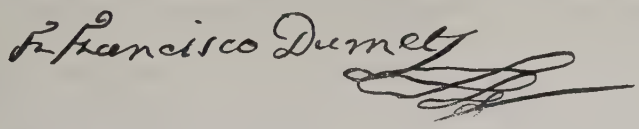


Fr. Antonio Cruzado was likewise one of the thirty Franciscans who left the College of San Fernando in October, 1770. But, unlike Fr. Sanchez, he was destined from the beginning for the new mission field in Upper California. After waiting at the Franciscan hospice of Tepic, he and nine other friars sailed from San Blas on January 20, 1771, in the *San Antonio,* and landed at San Diego on March 12. Here they re-embarked for Monterey, where Fr. Presidente Serra assigned the newcomers. Fr. Cruzado and Fr. Antonio Paterna were chosen for Mission San Buenaventura, still to be founded. On July 14 they again landed at San Diego; but, as the founding of their mission was delayed, they were directed to replace Fr. Somera and Fr. Cambon at Mission San Gabriel, who were retiring on account of ill health. Fr. Cruzado's first entry in the Baptismal Register of this place is number 4 and is dated August 15, 1772. He continued at this Mission uninterruptedly till his death on October 11, 1804. His missionary career is

unique in that his name is not found in the Register of any other mission. His last entry at San Gabriel, made with a feeble hand, is dated November 17, 1800.

Fr. Dumetz made the entry of his burial as follows: "No. 2347.—On October 12, 1804, in the church of this Mission of San Gabriel, the Archangel, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Antonio Cruzado, member of the holy Province of Los Angeles in Andalucia. He was 79 years and five months of age, having labored as missionary apostolic in the missions of the Sierra Gorda (Mexico) twenty-two years and in these establishments of Upper California thirty-three years. Both these mission fields belong to the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico. He received the holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction. He was a native of Alcarazegos in the diocese of Córdoba. In witness whereof I have signed Fr. Francisco Dumetz."

Fr. Francisco Dumetz also was one of the ten Franciscans who landed at San Diego on March 12, 1771. He remained at this mission to replace Fr. Gomez, who was retiring to Mexico. While he was here, a famine threatened the existence of the new establishment. Accordingly, Fr. Dumetz and

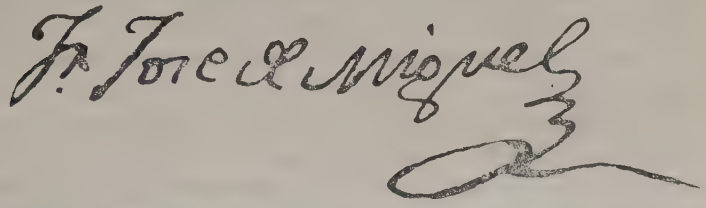


Fr. Cambon hastened to Lower California for supplies. The former returned, bringing up the first sheep to Upper California. He was then called to Mission San Carlos. On the way, he stopped at Mission San Gabriel, where he baptized on November 1 and 2, 1772. His first Baptism at Mission San Carlos is dated January 10, 1773. This Baptism is interesting inasmuch as it was the first time the Sacrament was administered on the new site of Carmelo, where the Mission existed ever after. Fr. Dumetz continued at San Carlos Mission till May 18, 1782, the day on which he made his last entry. Meanwhile, however, he officiated at Mission San

Antonio, on July 25, 1774, and from January 6 to April 6, 1776; and again on November 7 and 23, 1777. His next appointment was the newly founded Mission of San Buenaventura, where he entered his first Baptism on the feast of the Holy Innocents, December 28, 1782. Having baptized there for the last time on June 29, 1797, he was stationed by Fr. Presidente Lasuen at the newly established Mission of San Fernando, where he entered his first Baptism on September 13, 1797. It is number 11 in the Register. Here he continued till December 13, 1805, when he made his last entry. In the meantime, however, he officiated frequently at the neighboring Mission of San Gabriel, notably in 1803 and 1804. Yet he was not, as Bancroft asserts, stationed at San Gabriel in 1803-1804. The official list of the Fathers places Fr. Dumetz at Mission San Fernando from 1798 to 1805, inclusive. From 1806 to 1810, the *Lista* has him at Mission San Gabriel, where his first entry is dated July 29, 1806. At this Mission he continued till the day of his death. The last entry of this veteran missionary, the last survivor of those who arrived in California in 1770, is dated October 22, 1810, three months before he went to his eternal reward. He had served forty years in the California Missions. The entry of his burial reads as follows: "No. 3040.—On January 15, 1811, in the church of this Mission of San Gabriel, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of Fr. Francisco Dumetz, missionary apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico, supernumerary missionary of this Mission, and native of the Province of Mayorca. He died on the previous day, having received with much edification the holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. In testimony whereof I signed this.—Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea."

Fr. José de Miguel, who was stationed at San Gabriel for ten years, died at Mission San Fernando, where the entry of his death is found in the Burial Register. The details on his life and activity are also noted there. We therefore content ourselves with reproducing the entry of his death, which reads

as follows: "No. 1016.—On June 2, 1813, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission (San Fernando) to the body of the Rev. Fr. José de Miguel, late missionary of Mission San Luis Obispo, and likewise of that of Santa Barbara, and actual missionary of that of San Gabriel, the Arch-



angel. He was a member of the holy Province of Cantabria of the Regular Observance of our Father St. Francis. He received the holy Sacraments of the Holy Eucharist, of Penance, and of Extreme Unction. In witness whereof I sign.—Fr. Ramón Olbés."

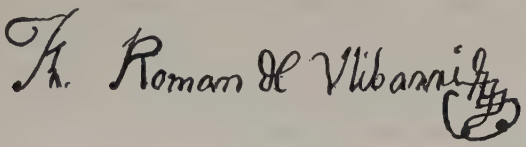
"Fr. Francisco Roman Fernandez de Ulibarri," writes the Fr. Prefecto on November 5, 1817, "is forty-four years and four months of age. He was born on February 28, 1773, at Ali in the jurisdiction of the city of Vitoria, in the diocese of Calaorra, Spain. He received the habit of our Seraphic Order in the Convento Grande of the said City of Vitoria, in 1794, about the middle of April. Hence it is seen that he must have belonged to the holy Province of Cantabria. From there he set out for the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico in the year 1803, where he arrived on September 9 of that year. He stayed there five years and some months, but was almost continuously in poor health and for that reason unable to participate regularly in the exercises of the community. Nevertheless, he determined with the consent of his Superiors to pass over to the missions of California Alta. There with the help of God he enjoyed good health and robust vigor, and served successively in the Missions of San Juan Bautista and Santa Inez, where he displayed Christian zeal with firm religiousness."

In addition, Fr. Payeras writes of Fr. Ulibarri, three years later, on December 31, 1820: "He is forty-seven years of age, a native of Ali in Alava, and a member of the Franciscan Province of Cantabria. He was affiliated with the College of San Fernando since 1803, and active in these missions since 1808. Considering all the circumstances, his merit is but regular as also his aptitude for the ministry among the faithful and the unbelievers and perhaps also for one or the other charge."

Fr. Ulibarri,[1] who wrote an exquisite hand as regular as print, figures in the Baptismal Register of Mission San Juan Bautista from March 31, 1810, to November 22, 1814, whereupon he was assigned to Mission Santa Inez. On the way he baptized at San Miguel January 30, 1815. February 23, 1815, to November 20, 1819, we find his name in the Register of Mission Santa Inez. Meanwhile he administered the Sacrament frequently at Mission Purisima Concepcion, from October 15, 1818, to July 3, 1819. In fact, the *Lista de los Padres* stations him at this mission in 1818. After that he seems to have been ailing. Transferred to Mission San Fernando, he entered a Baptism there for the first time on May 31, 1820, and for the last time on December 22, of the same year. Continuing at this Mission, he suffered repeated hemorrhages which, in February, 1821, almost proved fatal. On February 23, 1821, Fr. Ibarra wrote to Captain De la Guerra: "My companion is very feeble and has a high fever, while his breast is much oppressed. On Sunday, during the night, he vomited very much blood." On March 11, following, Fr. Ibarra again wrote to the Captain: "Fr. Ramon (Ulibarri) still expectorates, but not any blood. His fever is always high." The poor sufferer lingered on till the following June 15, when death came to his relief. They had urged him to allow himself to be taken to San Gabriel. At first he declined. But subsequently he consented and it was here that he departed this life.

[1] In the earlier days, he spelled his name Ullibarri.

For this reason he is remembered in connection with Mission San Gabriel rather than with that of San Fernando. The entry of his burial in the San Gabriel Register reads as follows:

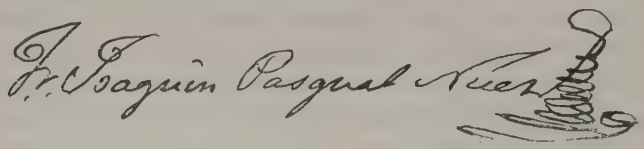


"No. 4429.—On June 16, 1821, in the church of this Mission of San Gabriel the Archangel, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Ramon Ullibari, missionary apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico. He was a member of the Province of Cantabria and late missionary of the Missions of San Juan Bautista, Santa Inéz, La Purisima, and San Fernando, in which he served with great zeal and activity and by his good example and irreprehensible conduct. Frequently during his illness, lying in bed for four months and suffering with much patience and resignation to the will of God, he received the Sacraments of Penance and Eucharist. He received also the holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction and departed this life with great edification on this same day. In witness whereof I have signed this.—Fr. Jose Maria de Zalvidea."

"*Fr. Joaquin Pascual Nuez* is 32 years and six months of age," writes Fr. Prefecto Sarria on November 5, 1817. "He is a native of Luco, Partido de Daroca, Aragon, and a member of the Franciscan Province of the same name. He received the holy habit in the convent of our holy Father St. Francis, in the city of Calatayud, on September 24, 1800. He reached our Apostolic College of San Fernando on June 20, 1810; and in the following year, about the beginning of July, he was sent by obedience to these missions. After countless hardships, due to the insurrection which dominated many parts of New Spain at that period, he could not arrive till July, 1812. Destined at first for the Mission of San Fernando and later for that of San Gabriel the Archangel, he distinguished himself

by his constant industry, and his corresponding merit is marked for attention chiefly to the spiritual affairs which a mission of 1,650 neophytes demands, besides a numerous population at the pueblo, other inhabitants three leagues distant from the Mission, and various ranchos situated in different directions." Under date of December 31, 1820, Fr. Payeras says that Fr. Nuez's merit "is above the average as also his aptitude, and in time he will be deserving of any trust."

It seems Fr. Nuéz never visited any other mission but that of San Juan Capistrano; once in December, 1814, when he baptized on the ninth of that month; and again when he accompanied Fr. Sarria on a visitation tour and countersigned the Auto-de-Visita on October 1, 1816.



His first entry at Mission San Fernando is dated August 9, 1812; and his last June 17, 1814. At Mission San Gabriel, September 19, 1814, is the date of his first entry, while his last was entered on December 5, 1821. That same month he passed to his eternal reward. The notice of his burial in the Register reads as follows: "No. 4497.—On December 31, 1821, in the church of this Mission of San Gabriel, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the Rev. Fr. Joaquin Pascual Nuez, preacher apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico of the Propagation of the Faith, member of the holy Province of Aragon and native of the pueblo of Luco de la Rivera de Daroca, belonging to the Archdiocese of Zaragosa. He received the habit of our holy Order at the age of sixteen years and three months, in the convent of our holy Father St. Francis, in the city of Calatayud. After making his profession in the same convent, he devoted himself with much success to the study of philosophy and theology. Having finished his studies, he was ordained priest; whereupon he embarked at Cadiz for Mexico. Later, at Acapulco, he embarked for the

mission of Upper California, where he discharged the apostolic ministry, serving as missionary in the Missions of San Fernando and San Gabriel with great zeal for the salvation of souls. In the course of his illness, that lasted twenty-two days, it was edifying to see how he resigned himself to the will of God, giving satisfaction to all with many desires to suffer more and more for God and exhorting and exercising himself in the acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, Love of God, and sorrow for his own sins. Having frequently received the Sacrament of Penance, various times the Eucharist, and also Extreme Unction, he passed away, to the edification of all who stood by. In witness whereof I have signed this.—Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva."

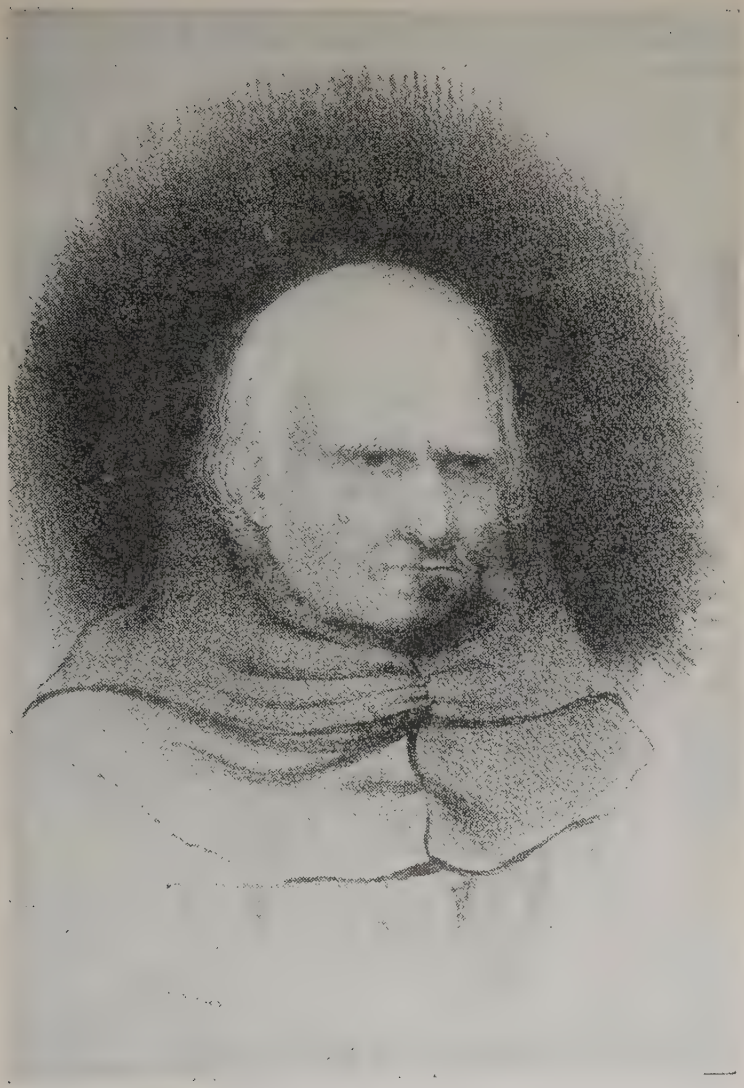
CHAPTER XX

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—Continued

Fr. Gerónimo Boscana.—Fr. José Bernardo Sanchez.—Fr. Tomás Eleutério Esténaga.—Fr. Blas Ordáz.—Rev. Antonio M. Jiménez del Récio.—List of Resident and Visiting Missionaries and Other Priests.

FR. GERONIMO BOSCANA, according to Fr. Prefecto Sarría in November, 1817, was forty-one years and one month old and a native of the Villa de Llumayor (Lummayor, Fr. Payeras spells it), on the Isle of Mayorca. "He received the habit of our Seraphic Order," Fr. Sarría continues, "in the convent of Jesus *extra muros* of the city of Palma, on August 4, 1792. In that Franciscan Province, he held the office of Maestro de Gramatica for three years and ten months; whereupon he set out for the College of San Fernando on June 5, 1803, and arrived there on October 24 of the same year. In 1806, he was selected with others for Upper California by the Discretory or Council of the College. He served as missionary of Mission Purisima, later at San Luis Rey, and lastly at San Juan Capistrano. His merit is that of an ordinary religious and his zeal is of the same character." Three years later, Fr. Payeras wrote of Fr. Boscana: "I consider his merit above the medium and his aptitude the same for the ministry among the faithful and the unbelievers as also for some kind of office or commission."

Fr. Boscana's first mission field was at Purisima Concepcion. Bancroft has him first at Mission Soledad; but we find no trace of him there in the Registers, except that the *Lista de los Padres* places him there as supernumerary in 1806. In the Baptismal Register of Mission Purisima, his first entry is dated December 10, 1806. Continuing here till April 5, 1811, he meanwhile visited Santa Barbara, where he baptized in April, 1808, and March, 1809. According to the *Lista,* Fr. Boscana



Fr. Gerónimo Boscana

was stationed at Mission San Luis Rey from 1811 to 1813, inclusive; but, since the Registers of that Mission are lost, dates are not available. While stationed here, he was invited to preach the sermon at the dedication of the new church at Mission San Diego, on November 12, 1813. Here, too, on July 2, 1812, he performed the ceremonies at the burial of Fr. Pedro Panto, missionary of San Diego.

In 1814, Fr. Boscana was transferred to Mission San Juan Capistrano, where he makes entries from May 19, 1814, to January 29, 1826. It was while in charge of this Mission that Fr. Boscana wrote his book, entitled *Chinigchinig,* on the origin and habits of the Indians of that region in their savage state. Alfred Robinson published a translation of the work in the appendix of the first edition of his *Life in California.* The substance of Fr. Boscana's interesting work has been utilized by the writer in his *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, part i, chap. xiv. Of Fr. Boscana's description regarding the savage Indians, Professor A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, in his *Handbook of the Indians of California,* page 945, writes as follows: "This account of the religion and the social customs of the Juaneño (San Juan Capistrano Indians) is by far the most valuable document on the California Indians preserved from the pen of any of the Franciscan missionaries. It is written in a spirited style, is based on unusually full knowledge, and is done with understanding. The ethnologist with local interest is at times puzzled how much of it to assign to Juaneño and how much to Gabrieliño sources."

As Mission San Gabriel, Fr. Boscana's name appears in the Baptismal Register from April 29, 1826, to December 17, 1830, although he did not pass to a better life till July 6, 1831. For some reason or another, Bancroft attempted to besmirch the character of this friar. He tried hard to make it appear that Fr. Boscana was removed from San Juan Capistrano for some unworthy dealings. In the volume on Mission San Juan Capistrano, the writer has disposed of Bancroft's insinuations, showing that the historian's surmises are entirely ungrounded.

In his biographical sketches of the Fathers, Bancroft reverts to the author of *Chinigchinig* and declares that "some doubt was felt about the qualifications as a spiritual guide, and he (Fr. Boscana) was spoken of as one whom for reasons known to the guardian it would not be well to leave alone at a mission."[1]

This statement of Bancroft is absolutely false, as false as what he tries to fasten on Fr. Boscana on the authority of "Vallejo and others," whose exact words he avoids quoting. In the beginning of this sketch we have reproduced what Fr. Prefecto Sarría said about Fr. Boscana. There is not a syllable in it that bears out Bancroft. The latter then refers to *Informe de Misiones,* drawn up by Fr. Sarría in 1817. Here is what Fr. Sarría relates for the benefit of his successor, Fr. Mariano Payeras: "En orden a lo espiritual me parecio en mis visitas que estaba para poco el Padre Barona, asi aun en el caso de faltar Ministro en San Gabriel nunca pense en dejarle solo por mucho tiempo; *al P. Boscana ya le conoce V.R.*"

In utilizing this document, Bancroft makes words apply to Fr. Boscana which refer to Fr. Barona exclusively. Fr. Barona was of a physically "weak constitution, which," as Fr. Sarría wrote, "does not permit him to make greater exertions." See for details our *San Juan Capistrano.* Hence Fr. Sarría thought that Fr. Barona was not capable of managing a Mission alone for a long period, which is not discreditable in the sense that Bancroft tries to make his readers believe. That historian himself says elsewhere that the same Fr. Barona was *a faithful worker.* At all events, the words quoted from Fr. Sarría's *Biographical Sketches* do not refer to Fr. Boscana. Fr. Payéras knew him well, as Fr. Sarría wrote—*al P. Boscana ya le conoce Vuestra Reverencia*—for which reason he (Fr. Payéras) could write of him two years later what we quoted in the beginning of this sketch. Bancroft was over-hasty to fasten something discreditable on the author of *Chinigchinig;* hence the falsifica-

[1] *California,* vol. i, p. 642.

tion of the text on his part. As regards the authority of Vallejo and his kind, it is well to remind the readers of what Bancroft himself wrote about the ebullitions of Vallejo, Alvarado, Bandini, and Osio: "None of them, nor all combined," he says, "would be a safe guide in the absence of the original records."[2] Yet, in a case against a priest, Bancroft does not shrink from taking the bare insinuations of a Vallejo as trustworthy historical material!

If we may believe Bancroft's authority, Mrs. Eulalia Perez, who was one hundred years old when she made the statement to the historian's man, Fr. Boscana was of less than medium stature, fair complexion, considerably bent in his old age; an inveterate snuff-taker; kindhearted and well liked generally, but subject to occasional spells of *apparent* lunacy (?) when he seemed to be angry with himself and every one about him. The portrait published in his book (Robinson's rather) is said to look like him. His death occurred on July 5, 1831."[3] His last entry in the Baptismal Register was dated on April 13, 1831, and numbered 5522.

The entry of Fr. Boscana's burial reads as follows: No. 5531.—On July 6, 1831, in the church of this Mission of San Gabriel, in the sanctuary on the side of St. Joseph, next to the body of the Rev. Fr. Joaquin Pasqual Nuez, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. Geronimo Boscana, member of the holy Province of Mayorca, late missionary of the Missions of Our Lady of Soledad, Purisima Concepcion, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and lastly missionary of San Gabriel, with the charge of temporary chaplain of the neighboring pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels. He received the holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction with the dispositions of a true religious, fully resigned and hoping to enter the enjoyment of God our Lord in His eternal mansions, assisted as he was by the Rev. Fr. Jesus Maria

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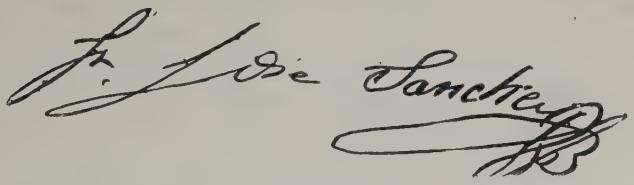
[2] *California,* vol. iv, p. 762. On Fr. Barona see our *San Juan Capistrano Mission.*

[3] *California,* vol. ii, p. 642.

Martinez, of the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, by the Rev. Fr. Francisco Gonzalez de Ibarra, and by the actual missionary Fr. José Sanchez. In testimony whereof I have signed this.—Fr. José Sanchez."

Fr. José Bernardo Sanchez, who signed the foregoing entry, was next to follow his venerable companion. He died only a year and a half later. Of him Fr. Prefecto Sarría writes in his Biographical Sketches of November, 1817, at the time when Fr. Sanchez was stationed at Mission San Diego. "Fr. José Bernardo Sanchez is thirty-eight years and ten months old. His native country is the Villa de Robledillo, diocese of the Ciudad Rodrigo, in Old Castile. He received the habit of our Seraphic Order in the convent of Our Lady Santa Maria



de Gracia, the house of recollection of the Province of the Archangel St. Michael *supra Tagum,* on October 9, 1794. In 1803, he was incorporated in the College of San Fernando de Mexico and, destined for these missions, sent out the following year. His charge has been and is still now the administration of Mission San Diego together with the care of the neighboring presidio of the same name, at a distance of about two leagues. His merit consists in a praiseworthy and regular exercise of his duties. At present he is resting from the ministry, not without poor health, as I personally observed in my last visitation. He is anxiously hoping for relief from poor health, meanwhile making a virtue of necessity." Under date of December 31, 1820, Fr. Prefecto Payeras writes that Fr. Sanchez is forty-two years of age. "His merit is distinguished for his good services in these missions; and more than medium is his aptitude for our entire ministry, for our prelacies, and for whatever else may occur in the cloister."

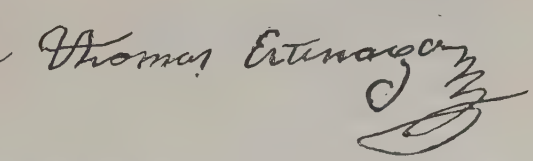
According to the Baptismal Register, Fr. José Sanchez officiated at Mission San Diego from October, 1804, to May 16, 1820. Transferred to Mission Purisima Concepcion, he baptized there for the first time on July 2, 1820, and remained at this Mission till August, 1821. He seems to have cared nothing for sight-seeing; for on the way down he is not found at any of the missions. His first entry at San Gabriel, to which place he was next assigned, was dated October 8, 1821. But he was there already on the preceding August 13, on which day he signed the Auto-de-Visita, as secretary to the Fr. Prefecto. His last entry was made on November 26, 1832, under number 5639.

From September 10 to October 1, 1821, Fr. Sanchez accompanied Fr. Prefecto Payeras on a memorable expedition to the interior. He also kept the diary, which will be found reproduced partly in chapter ten of *San Diego Mission* and partly in the present volume on *San Gabriel Mission*. On June 9, 1827, Fr. Sanchez was named Presidente of the California Missions for a term of three years. He reluctantly accepted the office and gladly surrendered it. He passed away to a better life at Mission San Gabriel. The entry of his burial is brief and reads. "No. 5689.—On January 16, 1833, in the sanctuary of this Mission of San Gabriel the Archangel, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. José Bernardo Sanchez, ex-Presidente of these missions and late missionary of Mission San Diego and of La Purisima, and lastly of this one of San Gabriel. He received the holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. In witness whereof I have signed this.—Fr. Vicente Pascual Oliva."

Fr. Thomas Eleuterio Esténaga, according to the Biographical Sketches of Fr. Payeras, was thirty years old in 1820, the year he arrived in California. He landed probably at Monterey, for we find him baptizing at San Carlos for the first time on September 13, and on November 23 of that year. He was born at Anzuila in the Province of Vizcaya, Spain, but was received into the Franciscan Order in the province of Can-

tabria. In 1810, hence before he had received priestly orders, he sailed for America and reached the College of San Fernando in the same year. Until 1820, Fr. Esténaga was occupied at the College completing his studies and preparing for the missions of California. "He manifests religiousness and prudence," Fr. Payeras said of him a few months after his arrival in the missions, "and he is sufficiently apt for this ministry, but he enjoys little good health."

Fr. Esténaga was appointed to Mission San Miguel, where he served from February 5 to June 23, according to the Baptismal Register; but he may have resided there earlier and also later. On November 27, 1821, he entered his first Baptism at Mission San Francisco and labored there till February 29, 1833. Meanwhile he also attended Mission San



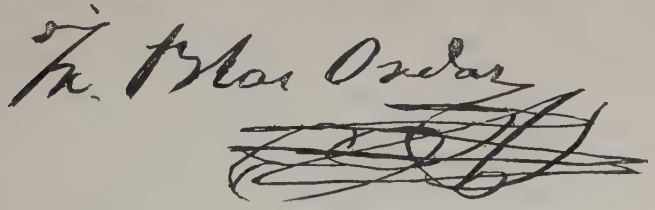
Rafael, where he officiated from July 21, 1832, to March 14, 1833. Having surrendered Mission San Francisco to the Zacatecan Fathers, he immediately set out for his new destination, Mission San Gabriel, as priests were beginning to grow very scarce. At Mission San Gabriel, or rather at the Rancho de Santa Ana, he baptized for the first time on April 2, 1833. Thereafter, Fr. Esténaga was mostly alone at the Mission till December 28, 1846, when he made his last entry, number 8905, in the Register. He frequently attended Mission San Fernando and, after the death of Fr. Pedro Cabot, he was also in charge until the arrival of Fr. Blas Ordaz, in May, 1837.

As the entry of his burial is lost, authentic details cannot be given, but from Mrs. Catarina Lopez, resident of San Fernando, who has since departed this life, the writer in 1904 learned some particulars. Mrs. Lopez was present at the burial of Fr. Esténaga. She testified that it took place in the church near the pulpit and pointed out the spot. Furthermore, accord-

ing to her testimony, Fr. Esténaga died early in 1847 in one of the rear rooms of the long building next to the chapel. The Rev. Eugene Sugranes, C.M.F., of San Gabriel, relates in his *The Glory of San Gabriel* (pp. 26-27): "The writer has personally conversed with two estimable ladies who were present at his (Fr. Esténaga's) death. They are Doña Catarina Lopez and Doña Maria de las Angustias, both of whom stated that Fr. Thomas Esténaga, having become quite ill at San Gabriel, was removed from there to San Fernando, where he died in 1846 (rather in 1847)." He was buried in that Mission. The friends who removed him thither were Don Juan Manso and Don José Arnas, in the hope of saving Fr. Thomas's life, but that hope was soon banished, for he died a few months after being taken to San Fernando. Fr. Esténaga was administered to by Fr. Blas Ordaz. Before receiving the Viaticum, he rose from his deathbed and approached a temporary altar built in his room, and with a loud voice exclaimed: 'I have served at San Gabriel and Los Angeles for fifteen years. Should I, during that time, have scandalized or offended anyone, forgive me for the love of God.' Those about him, who were from San Fernando, San Gabriel, and Los Angeles, all cried: 'Yes, Father, yes,' and all those about him wept, in lamentation of his approaching departure from life. While he was in this adoring attitude, many saw on his shoulders the pitiful marks of his extreme mortification. Soon afterwards he died and was buried in the San Fernando Mission church, near the sanctuary."

"*Fr. Blas Ordaz,* the last Franciscan to die at Mission San Gabriel," writes Fr. Prefecto Payeras on December 31, 1820, "is twenty-eight years of age and his native place is Cervera de Rio Alama, six leagues from Calahora, in the Province of Burgos. He came to the College in 1819 and to this spiritual field of labor in the following year, 1820. Experience will reveal his merit; but he manifests a laudable disposition." Fr. Ordaz landed at Monterey probably in July or August, 1820, for he was asked to baptize on August 13. Thereupon,

Fr. Prefecto Payeras appointed him to Mission San Francisco, where his first Baptism, under number 5833, is dated September 28, 1820. His last Baptism there is dated September 22, 1821. From October 18 to November 15, he accompanied a military expedition under Captain Luis Argüello. They set out from the presidio of San Francisco and journeyed northward as far as Ukiah or even Weaverville, it is thought. He kept the journal of the expedition, which was reproduced in connection with the history of San Francisco Mission. A month later, on December 7, 1821, Fr. Ordaz baptized at Mission



Soledad. He was then stationed at Mission San Miguel, where he officiated from January 19, 1822, to September 15, 1822. We find him at Mission San Inéz on June 2 and 9, 1823; at San Luis Obispo from June 29 to July 4, 1823, and again on December 28, 1823; at San Buenaventura from July 13 to 25, 1823; at Purisima Concepcion from April 13, 1823, to March 26, 1824; at San Inéz from March 25, 1824, to April 3, 1833, meanwhile baptizing once, on August 14, 1824, at Mission Santa Barbara. From June 16, 1833, to July 5, 1837, he officiated as missionary in charge of Mission San Buenaventura. He was then transferred to Mission San Fernando, where his name appears in the Registers from May 20, 1837, to June 30, 1847. Finally he was placed in charge of Mission San Gabriel with jurisdiction over Mission San Juan Capistrano, until November 21, 1849, when he entered his last Baptism at San Gabriel. He lingered on in ill health for one year, when he departed this life, the last of the Spanish Franciscans of the College of San Fernando. The entry of his burial reads: "No. 6101.—In the year 1850, on November 11, the Rev. Fr. Blas Ordaz, missionary of this Mission of San Gabriel, died in communion

with holy Mother Church, having received the holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction with good dispositions. With the assistance of four Fathers, he was interred amid great solemnity in the sanctuary of this church on the Gospel side. In testimony of which I have signed this.—Fr. José Joaquin Jimeno."

Rev. Antonio Maria Jiménez del Récio, though not a Franciscan, but only a pupil of the Fathers, deserves to be specially remembered here. His antecedents are not known. He came to California as an ecclesiastical student with the first Bishop, Rt. Rev. Francisco Garcia Diego, O.F.M. A week later, landing at San Diego, Sunday, December 19, 1841, young Jiménez received Minor Orders together with José M. Rosales and Doroteo Ambris. At the Old Mission of Santa Barbara he studied theology under the eyes of the Bishop. On June 26, 1842, he was ordained subdeacon, and three days later he received deaconship. In the following year, October 8th, he was elevated to the priesthood together with J. M. Rosales, and on December 5, 1843, Rev. Antonio Jiménez was named assistant to Fr. Thomas Esténaga at Mission San Gabriel. Having been rapidly promoted to the priesthood on account of the dearth of priests, his studies could not have been brilliant. He was therefore satisfied to be a worthy assistant priest at San Gabriel, and Los Angeles later, until his death at San Gabriel in 1853.

List of the Resident and Visiting Fathers and Other Priests Who Officiated at Mission San Gabriel According to the Registers

Fr. José A. Somera, September 8, 1771, to October 23, 1772.
Fr. Pedro B. Cambon, September 6, 1771, to April, 1772.
Fr. Andonio Cruzado, August 15, 1772, to October 12, 1804.
Fr. Ramon Uson, December 3, 1772, to January 16, 1773.
Fr. Francisco Dumetz, November 1, 2, 1772.
Fr. Antonio Paterna, November 2, 1772, to August 24, 1776.
Fr. Juan Figuer, May 10, 1773, to August 3, 1774.

Fr. Fermin de Lasuen, December 8, 1773, to December 25, 1774.
Fr. Juan Diaz (Querétaro), March 24, 1774.
Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui, September 27, 1774.
Fr. Gregorio Amúrrio, February 12, 1775.
Fr. Miguel Sanchez, September 1, 1775, to July 27, 1803.
Fr. Junípero Serra, December 11, 1776; November 11, 1778.
Fr. Francisco H. Garcés (Querétaro), April 6, 1776
Fr. Vicente Fuster, December 28, 1777; January 29 to July 17, 1779.
Fr. Pedro Cambon, March 23, 1782.
Fr. Francisco Dumetz, October 3, 1782; April 19, 1787.
Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui, May 21, 1787.
Fr. Juan A. Garcia Riobó, June 27 to December 27, 1787.
Fr. Antonio Calzada, February 2, 1788, to October 13, 1792.
Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, November 17, 1792, to September 23, 1793.
Fr. Hilário Torrent, August 26, 1793.
Fr. Juan Martin, May 2, 1795, to July 24, 1796.
Fr. Juan Cortéz, August 19, 1796, to April 22, 1798.
Fr. Pedro Estéban, August 2, 1797, to July 27, 1802.
Fr. Vicente Fuster, August 29, 1796.
Fr. Antonio Peyri, May 31, 1798.
Fr. José Barona, September 22, 1799.
Fr. Francisco X. Uria, October, 1799; October, 1800; May, 1802.
Fr. Francisco Dumetz, June 3, 1801; August 31, 1803.
Fr. Juan Martin, May 21, 28, 1802.
Fr. Isidoro Barcenilla, December 9, 1802, to October 4, 1804.
Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago, August 3, 1803.
Fr. José de Miguel, November 8, 1803, to January 27, 1813.
Fr. José A. Urresti, October 16, 1804, to September 12, 1806.
Fr. José Martiarena, October 23, 28, 1804.
Fr. Francisco Dumetz, July 29, 1806, to January 14, 1811.
Fr. José M. de Zalvidea, December 19, 1806, to January 15, 1827.

Fr. Estévan Tapis, August 30, 1806.
Fr. Ramon Olbés, April 17, 20; August 6, 1813.
Fr. Joaquin Nuez, April 11, 1813.
Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada, September 5, 1813, to September 4, 1814.
Fr. Joaquin Nuez, April 24, 1814, to December 30, 1821.
Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, August 3, 1814.
Fr. Vicente Oliva, November 24, 1814, to October 21, 1815.
Fr. José Barona, May, December, 1815; January, 1816.
Fr. Antonio Rodríguez, March 24, 1819.
Fr. Francisco Ibárra, December 1, 1820, to January 27, 1821.
Fr. Vicente Oliva, December 31, 1821, to January 10, 1822.
Fr. José Barona, December 20, 29, 1823.
Fr. José B. Sanchez, October 8, 1821, to January 15, 1833.
Fr. Vicente Oliva, May, July, 1828; January, March, 1831.
Fr. José Barona, July 7, 1829, to September 10, 1830.
Fr. Thomas Mansilla, O.P., May, June, 1830.
Fr. Vicente de Sarría, Commissary Prefect, July, 1824.
Fr. Geronimo Boscana, April 29, 1826, to July 6, 1831.
Fr. Francisco Ibárra, April 26, 1827; February 15, 1831.
Fr. Francisco Cuculla (Zacatecas), April 28, May 6, November 28, 1831.
Fr. J. M. Martinez (Zacatecas), June 27 to December 2, 1831.
Fr. Mariano Sosa (Zacatecas), November 5, 1831.
Rt. Rev. Alejo Bachelot, C.SS.CC., March 18, 1832, to March 27, 1836.
Rev. Patrick Short, C.SS.CC., April 16 to May 4, 1832.
Fr. Francisco Ibárra, May 3, 1832.
Fr. Vicente Oliva, December 31, 1832, to March 8, 1833.
Fr. Thomas Esténaga, April 2, 1833, to December 28, 1846.
Rev. Antonio Jiménez de Récio, November 28, 1846, to 1852.
Fr. Blas Ordáz, May 14, 1847, to November 11, 1850.

Rev. J. M. Rosáles, March, 1846; February, 1849; March, April, November, 1850.
Fr. José J. Jimeno, December 8, 1850, to August, 1852.
Fr. Francisco Sanchez, September 30, 1850, to August 15, 1852.
(Fathers Jiméno and Sanchez were the last Franciscans.)

Rev. Anaclet Lestrade, C.SS.CC., June 17, July 16, 1851.
Rev. H. T. Lempfrit, August 10 to December 28, 1852.
Rev. Pablo Jordan, January 7, 1853, to June 10, 1855.
Rev. Jayme Vila, 1855-1856.
Rev. Francisco Capdevila, 1856-1857.
Rev. Domingo Serrano, 1858-1861.
Rev. Cyprian Rúbio, 1862-1863.
Rev. Vicente Riera, 1863.
Rev. Pedro Sastre, 1864.
Rev. Juan Basso, 1865-1867.
Rev. Pedro Verdaguer, 1868-1871.
Rev. Joaquin Bot, 1868.
Rev. Thomas Donohue, 1869.
Rev. Philip Farrelly, 1870-1875.
Rev. Joaquin Bot, 1872-1887.
Rev. Bernard Smith, 1888.
Rev. C. Scannell, 1889.
Rev. Joaquin Bot, 1890-1902.
Rev. Henry O'Reilly, 1903-1905.
Rev. P. M. Bannon, 1906.
Rev. William Powers, 1907-1908, who was the last secular priest.

Rev. Felix Zumárraga, Superior, C.M.F., 1908-1909.
Rev. Andrés Resa, C.M.F., 1909-1911.
Rev. Miguel Oñate, C.M.F., 1911-1912.
Rev. Eustáquio Flamenco, C.M.F., 1912-1915.
Rev. Leon Monasterio, C.M.F., 1915-1918.
Rev. Rafael Serrano, C.M.F., 1918-1921.
Rev. José Maria Preciado, C.M.F., 1921-1923.

Rev. Domingo Zaldívar, C.M.F., 1923-1924.
Rev. Juan Maíztegui, C.M.F., 1924-1926.

List of Franciscans and Their Successors, Who Were in Charge or, According to the Registers, Officiated at Our Lady of the Angels, Los Angeles, California

Fr. Geronimo Boscana, May 18, 1826, to June 27, 1831. (During this period he entered 287 Baptisms.)
Fr. José M. Martinez (Zacatecan), July 17 to November 27, 1831.
Fr. José A. Anzar (Zacatecan), October 10, 1831; April 7-11, 1833.
Fr. Fran. Cuculla (Zacatecan), November 30 to December 18, 1831.
Fr. Mariano Sosa (Zacatecan), November, 1831.
Fr. José B. Sanchez, September 3, 1831, to November 5, 1832.
Rt. Rev. Alejo Bachelot, C.SS.CC., April 15, 1832, to March 22, 1837.
Fr. Blas Ordaz, September 15, 1833.
Fr. Pedro Cabot, February 18 to April 23, 1836.
Fr. Thomas Esténaga, April 23, 1837, to March 12, 1845.
Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego, O.F.M., March 29, 1843.
Fr. José M. Gonzalez Rúbio, O.F.M., March 29, 1843.
Fr. Blas Ordaz, March 5, 1843; October 17, 1844.
Fr. Francisco Sanchez, March 13 to July 4, 1843.
Rev. Antonio Jiménez del Recio, February 28, 1843, to 1853.
Fr. Ignacio R. de Arellano, O.P., September to October 3, 1844.
Fr. Blas Ordaz, November 22, 1845, to December 24, 1848.
Rev. Sebastian Bongiami, February 23, 1849, to November, 1850.
Rev. P. J. Doubet, 1850-1851.
Fr. Francisco Sanchez, December 1, 1850, to August 16, 1851.
Rev. José M. Rosales, January, 1851.

Fr. José J. Jiméno, April-May, 1851.
(Fathers Sanchez and Jiméno were the last Franciscans.)

Rev. Anaclet Lestrade, C.SS.CC., June, 1851, to 1857.
Rev. Felix Migorel, C.SS.CC., 1852. He died in Lower California.
Rev. Edmundo Venisse, C.SS.CC., 1854-1855.
Rev. Vicente Llover, 1856-1857.
Very Rev. Bernardo Raho, C.M., Vic. Gen., 1858-1862.
Rev. Apolinar Roussell, 1858.
Rev. John Garibaldi, 1858-1859.
Rev. José Oneto, 1859.
Rev. Michael Duran, 1860.
Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C.M., D.D., 1861-1878.
Very Rev. Francis Mora, Vic. Gen., Rector, 1862-1873.
Rt. Rev. Francis Mora, Bishop-Coadjutor, 1873-1878.
Rev. José Mut, 1863-1866.
Rev. Antonio Ubach, 1865.
Rev. Michael Duran, 1866-1868; 1872-1875.
Rev. Hugh Curran, 1866-1868.
Rev. John Garibaldi, 1866.
Rev. Kilian Coll, 1869-1872.
Rev. Patrick Birmingham, 1869-1871.
Rev. Charles Flanagan, 1870, 1872-1875.
Rev. Valentine Closa, 1872-1873.
Rev. H. McNamee, 1873.
Rev. Peter Sastre, Rector, 1873.
Rev. Peter Verdaguer, Rector, 1874-1890.
Rev. Michael Lynch, 1874.
Rev. F. X. Noonan, 1874.
Rev. F. Fauron, 1874.
Rev. Victor Fauron, 1874.
Rev. Bernard Gelse, 1875-1879.
Rev. John O'Donell, 1877.
Rev. Martin Marron, 1877-1878.
Rev. Philip Farrelly, 1878.

In this year, 1878, the episcopal residence having been completed, Bishop Mora and the priests attending the cathedral parish, bid farewell to their old quarters at the Plaza Church and took possession of their new home adjoining the Cathedral of St. Vibiana. At Our Lady of the Angels, Rev. Peter Verdaguer remained with the Rev. Patrick Bannon. The list there accordingly continues as follows:

Rev. Peter Verdaguer, Rector, 1878-1890. (Appointed Bishop of Brownsville, Texas.)
Rev. Patrick Bannon, 1878-1880.
Rev. John Pujol, 1881-1885.
Rev. Bernard Smith, 1882, 1885-1887.
Rev. Louis Gaudon, 1883-1887.
Rev. P. J. Grogan, 1888-1890.
Rev. L. Gernier, 1888-1890.
Rev. M. Liébana, 1890-1903.
Rev. H. S. O'Reilly, 1890.
Rev. JohnMcCarthy, 1893.
Rev. R. M. Mestres, 1892.
Rev. Joseph T. Noonan, 1893.
Rev. Joseph Barron, 1895-1896.
Rev. Emile Coté, 1896-1902.
Rev. Joseph O'Reilly, 1897-1900.
Rev. Thomas F. King, 1901-1902.
Rev. William Quinlan, 1902.
Rev. Thomas F. Fahey, 1903.
Rev. Juan Caballeria, 1903-1910. (The last secular priest.)
Rev. J. M. W. Beaudry, 1904-1905.
Rev. R. P. F. McLaughlin, 1906.

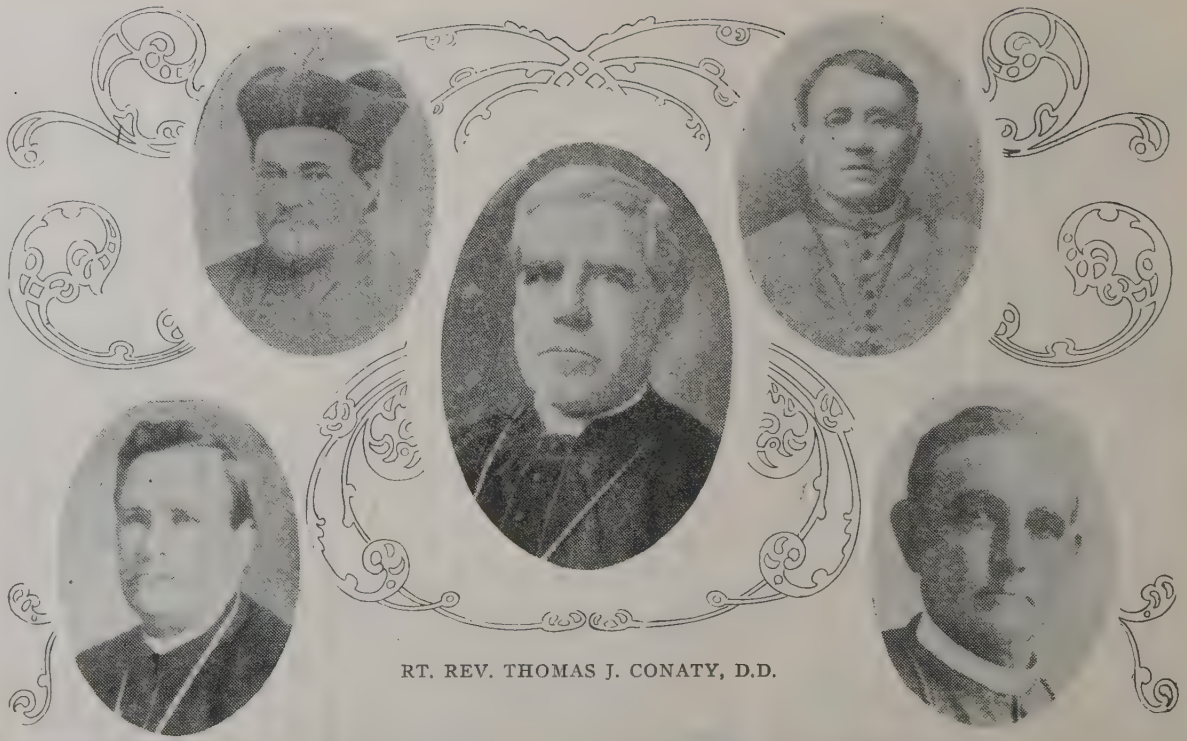
Rev. Eugene Sugranes, C.M.F., temporary Superior, 1910.
Rev. Andrés Resa, C.M.F., 1911-1912.
Rev. Miguel Oñate, C.M.F., 1912-1915.
Rev. Domingo Zaldívar, C.M.F., 1915-1918.
Rev. Andrés Resa, C.M.F., 1918-1923. (Elected Provincial in 1925, and thereafter resided at San Gabriel.)
Rev. Eustáquio Flamenco, C.M.F., 1923.

CHAPTER XXI

Modern Period.—The Successors of the Franciscans.—The Bishops of the Diocese.—The Cathedral at Los Angeles.—Our Lady of the Angels.—Changes at San Gabriel.—Arrival of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.—Resurrection of San Gabriel.—First Parochial School.—Headquarters of the Missionaries.—Fathers Take Charge of Our Lady of the Angels at Los Angeles.—Church Enlarged.—New Dwelling for the Fathers.—New Parochial School.—Sketch of Archbishop A. M. Claret.—On Cuba Isle.—Spiritual Director of Queen Isabella.—At the Vatican Council.—Illness and Death.—His Missionary and Literary Activity.—Pope Pius XI on the Founder of the Missionary Sons of Mary Immaculate.—Rt. Rev. John Maíztegui, C.M.F., Vicar-Apostolic of Darien.

THE Mission Period of San Gabriel may be said to have terminated with the departure, in August, 1852, of Fathers José Joaquin Jimeno and Francisco Sanchez, the last Franciscans in charge. Both withdrew from the Mission and from the parish of Our Lady of the Angels at Los Angeles and retired to Mission Santa Barbara, which since 1833 was the headquarters of the Franciscans on the coast. This action had become necessary in order to prevent the extinction of the Order of the Friars Minor in California. One by one the friars in the twenty-one mission centers had died at their post or on account of ill health had retired to the mother college in Mexico. In the course of time only four Franciscans survived, and formed the little community at the venerable Santa Barbara Mission. No recruits could be secured from either Spain or Mexico, however. Moreover, the discovery of gold had attracted numerous immigrants not familiar with the Spanish language, wherefore English-speaking priests and religious were in demand. Eventually the Santa Barbara community was incorporated into the Province of the Sacred Heart of St. Louis, Mo., and thus it was saved for the Order of St. Francis.

The priests who succeeded the Franciscans at San Gabriel and at Our Lady of the Angels were the Fathers of the Con-



RT. REV. THOMAS J. CONATY, D.D.

RT. REV. THADDEUS AMAT, C.M., D.D.
RT. REV. GEORGE MONTGOMERY, D.D.

RT. REV. FRANCIS MORA, D.D.
RT. REV. PETER VERDAGUER, D.D. (BISHOP OF BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS)

gregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, better known in Europe at the Picpus Fathers. The first resident pastor of Our Lady of the Angels, as related in an earlier chapter, belonged to this Congregation of priests. The first of these Fathers were the Rev. Anaclet Lestrade and the Rev. Felix Migorel. They came with the intention of conducting a school for boys, and Rt. Rev. Bishop José S. Alemany, O.P., so reported to the *Catholic Directory* for the two years 1852-1853, as follows: *"Boarding and Day School* at Los Angeles under the direction of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts." At any rate, the *Catholic Directory* omits the notice in subsequent years. The Fathers remained in charge of Our Lady of the Angels till 1856, when the parish was surrendered to the Bishop who appointed the Rev. Bernard Raho, C.M., pastor.

In his first report to the *Catholic Directory* for the year 1851 Bishop Alemany states the dimensions of the church as being 135 by 27 feet, and the population of the town as 3,000. The church at San Gabriel is reported as being 180 by 40 feet, and the population as 250.

It must be noted here that in ecclesiastical affairs, California was subject to the Bishop of Sonora, Mexico, till the year 1840. The Superior of the Franciscan missionaries, however, held the office of Vicar-General. At the petition of the Mexican Government, Pope Gregory XVI, on April 27, 1840, appointed the Rev. Fr. Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno, O.F.M., first bishop of California. The Bishop-elected was consecrated at the national shrine at Guadalupe, Mexico, on October 4, 1840. He landed at San Diego on December 11, 1841, but a month later made the Old Mission of Santa Barbara his residence. He visited Los Angeles once in March, 1843, and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation at Our Lady of the Angels. He died at Santa Barbara on April 30, 1846. His secretary, Fr. José Maria Gonzalez Rúbio, O.F.M., thereafter governed the diocese as administrator until the arrival at Santa Barbara of the Rt. Rev. José Sadoc Alemany, O.P., who had been named Bishop of Monterey on May 31,

RT. REV. JOHN J. CANTWELL, D.D., BISHOP OF LOS ANGELES AND SAN DIEGO

1850. He was consecrated at Rome on June 30th, and was welcomed at Santa Barbara by Fr. Gonzales Rúbio on Christmas Day, 1850. The Bishop had landed at San Pedro and had come up by way of Los Angeles. On July 29, 1853, Pope Pius IX divided the diocese which embraced the whole State of California. The Diocese of Monterey thereafter comprised all that portion which lay south of the city of San José. The northern portion became an Archdiocese with the seat of the Archbishop, Most Rev. Joseph S. Alemany, O. P., at San Francisco. Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, D.D., of the Congregation of St Vincent de Paul, was named second Bishop of Monterey, and consecrated at Rome on March 12, 1854. The new Bishop reached Monterey on November 23rd, and was installed by Archbishop Alemany on November 26, 1855. He took up his residence at Santa Barbara, but in 1859 transferred the seat of the Diocese to Los Angeles, and resided with the clergy at Our Lady of the Angels. In 1871 he laid the cornerstone for the present cathedral, and lived to see it dedicated by Archbishop Alemany on April 30, 1876, in honor of St. Vibiana Virgin and Martyr, whose remains he had brought from Rome. Constant ill health forced the Bishop to ask for a coadjutor. The request was granted by the Holy See, the Pope naming the Rev. Francis Mora coadjutor with the right of succession. Bishop Mora was consecrated on August 3, 1873, and succeeded Bishop Amat who died at Our Lady of the Angels on May 12, 1878. In this year accommodations having been completed, Bishop Mora and a number of priests took up their residence at the new Cathedral, which since April 9, 1876, was frequented by the English-speaking Catholics of Los Angeles, whilst Our Lady of the Angels, or Plaza Church, was attended by the Spanish population.

Bishop Mora himself in 1893 asked for a coadjutor. Rev. George Montgomery of San Francisco was thereupon named for the position, and consecrated on April 8, 1894, with the right of succession. On the resignation of Bishop Mora, who returned to Spain, Bishop Montgomery succeeded to the See

of Monterey and Los Angeles on June 20, 1896. On January 1, 1903, he became coadjutor to Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco, and was succeeded at Los Angeles by the Rt. Rev. Thomas James Conaty, D.D., Rector of the Catholic

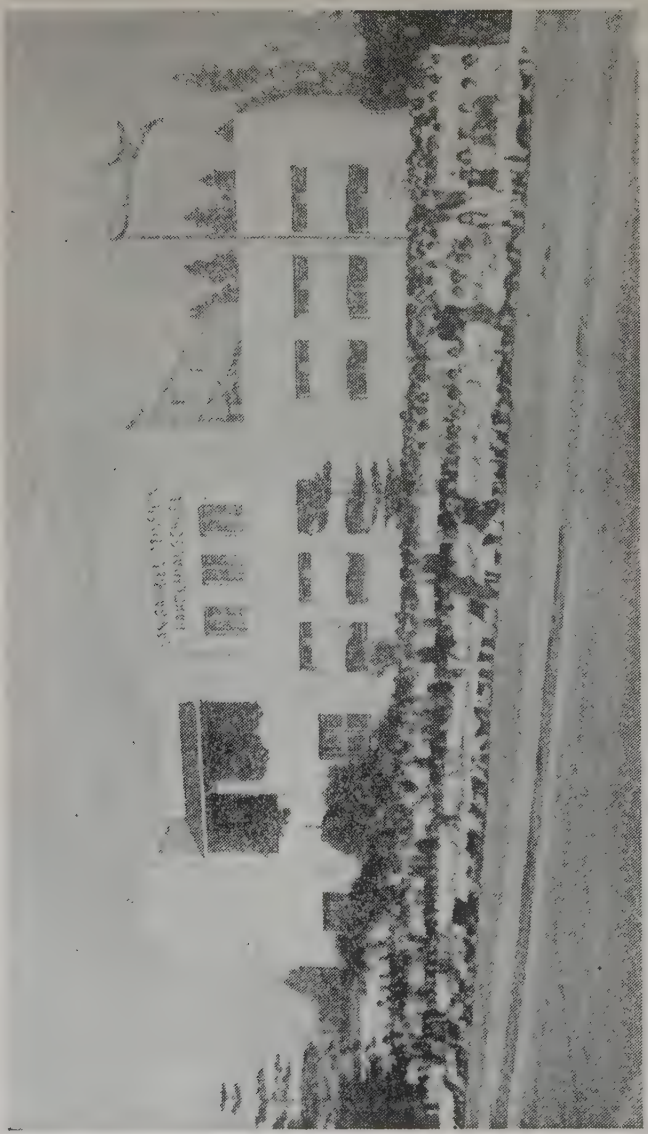
VERY REV. ANDRES RESA, C.M.F., FIRST PROVINCIAL OF THE AMERICAN PROVINCE, C.M.F.

University of Washington, D. C. He died on September 18, 1915. After a vacancy of two years the Very Rev. John J. Cantwell, Vicar-general of San Francisco, was named Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles on September 21, 1917, and consecrated at San Francisco on December 5th of the same year. On December 3, 1922, the Diocese was divided, all that portion of Southern California from Santa Barbara County inclusive down to the State line being named Diocese of Los Angeles and San Diego with the Rt. Rev. John J. Cantwell, D.D., as its Bishop.

Until 1876, Our Lady of the Angels Church enjoyed the distinction of being the first and only place of Catholic public worship in the city of Los Angeles. During his administration it also served as the pro-cathedral of Bishop Amat. In the year named, however, the new cathedral was dedicated, whereupon the Plaza Church, as Our Lady of the Angels was called, became the gathering place of all Spanish-speaking worshippers. Nothing of particular interest needs to be noticed, save that one of its pastors, the Rev. Peter Verdaguer, became Bishop of Brownsville (now Corpus Christi), Texas.

At San Gabriel, the mother church, we dare say, of the whole valley to the ocean, frequent changes took place among the clergy; but otherwise life there was uneventful. The Rev. Joaquin Bot served the longest term as pastor, wherefore he could think of making improvements. In mission churches the windows were usually small and high up in the wall. Father Bot in 1886 enlarged the openings and put in new windows to admit more light. Another change was not so judicious. At all events, it arouses the wonderment of the visitor. At the cost of several thousand dollars Father Bot had a new ceiling put in the church. It is an excellent piece of carpenter work, but altogether out of harmony with the character and the style of the sacred edifice.

With the year 1908 a decided and happy change came over the Old Mission of San Gabriel, the *Pride of the Missions,* as it was not inaptly called in the forepart of the last century on account of its numerous herds, its vineyards and orchards. Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese, invited the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary to take charge of San Gabriel. Two years later his Lordship gave them charge also of Our Lady of the Angels at Los Angeles. Thereupon began a remarkable activity at San Gabriel, and at Our Lady of the Angels as well, which may be termed the Resurrection of San Gabriel. The Indians, indeed, have disappeared never to return; agriculture, mechanical arts, and livestock introduced to maintain



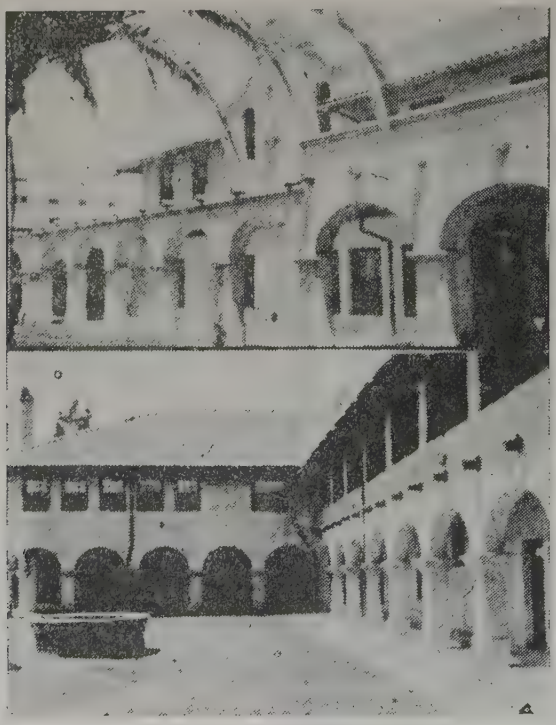
PAROCHIAL SCHOOL AT OLD MISSION SAN GABRIEL, CALIFORNIA

the Indian neophytes are not needed; for all the activity runs along purely spiritual lines.

Hundreds of thousands of immigrants speaking the same melodious language, adopted by the neophytes of old, have sought and found in the United States the peace and liberty denied them in their own native Mexico. Many thousands of them have made their homes in the vast San Gabriel Valley and at Los Angeles. They are happy in the knowledge that here they may, not in secret and with bated breath but joyously, in the open air, sing their sweet hymns, follow the Cross in their religious procession, accompany the Blessed Sacrament to the sick, and attend burials conducted in a Christian way by the priests of the Church in surplice and stole. Under the kindly direction of zealous missionaries, the parents may raise their children in the fear of God and in the childlike affection for His Blessed Mother. For these timid people scattered along the border from Texas and California, *Los Misioneros Hijos del Corazon de Maria,* were and are a veritable Godsend. From the time of their arrival, in keeping with the chief aim of their Institute, the Fathers endeavored to collect old and young in order to instruct them thoroughly in the truths of salvation. No parochial school had ever existed at San Gabriel. It was not easy to maintain one. Four years after taking charge of the place, Father Oñate, then superior of the parish, undertook to build a magnificent school. It was solemnly dedicated on October 6, 1912, by the Bishop of the Diocese, Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D. The classes began with one hundred and sixty children under five Dominican Sisters. The number of pupils steadily increased to more than four hundred under ten Sisters in 1924.

In 1923 a great honor came to San Gabriel. The various communities of the Claretian Fathers, as the Missionaries of the Immaculate Heart of Mary are called from their founder, were detached from the Province of Mexico, and formed into a new Province with its headquarters and first preparatory college or seminary at San Gabriel. In the year

previous Father José Maria Preciado, by order of the Provincial, Very Rev. Domingo Zaldívar, erected the college building at the cost of $40,000. It took the place of the old frame structure, which was moved to the northwest corner of the church property and turned into a sanitarium.



SAN GABRIEL COLLEGE. INTERIOR VIEWS

On our last visit to San Gabriel some years ago we noticed with satisfaction that, like all true missionaries of Mother Church, the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary cheerfully remember the needs of other laborers in the Lord's vineyard. The evidence is a little monument to the Apostle of California, Fr. Junípero Serra, O.F.M., which

Father Rafael Serrano in 1921 erected to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Mission San Gabriel. The statue represents the venerable Founder of the California Missions standing on a pedestal six feet high. The figure itself of *terra cotta* measures a little more than four feet in height. The inscription beneath the pedestal reads: "One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, 1771-1921." The little monument, surrounded by a low iron grating, is located just in front of the interior doorway, the first object of note observed by visitors as they enter.

Out of reverence for the ancient Mission Church no changes were made in the venerable structure, save that at right angles with the church from the sacristry a new chapel was built for the missionary community.

As evidence of the lively activity prevailing at Old San Gabriel we note the names of the various societies connected with the parish:

Archconfraternity of the Heart of Mary.
Altar Society.
Young Ladies' Sodality.
Holy Name (Senior Branch).
St. Vincent de Paul Conference, two Branches.
Sociedad Mutualista de San José.
Sociedad de Guadalupe.
Holy Name (Junior Branch).
Blessed Imelda Sodality.

At Our Lady of the Angels in Los Angeles the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary or Claretian Fathers began their zealous activity in 1910 at the request of Bishop Conaty. They soon discovered that the church building could not accommodate the worshippers, notwithstanding that more holy Masses were celebrated. Father Andrés Resa, therefore, late in 1912 began enlarging the sacred edifice by moving the sanctuary back and putting in the transept, which afforded very much more room and made the building cruciform. His successor, Father Oñate, completed the work, and erected a new dwelling for the community of Fathers in the place of the

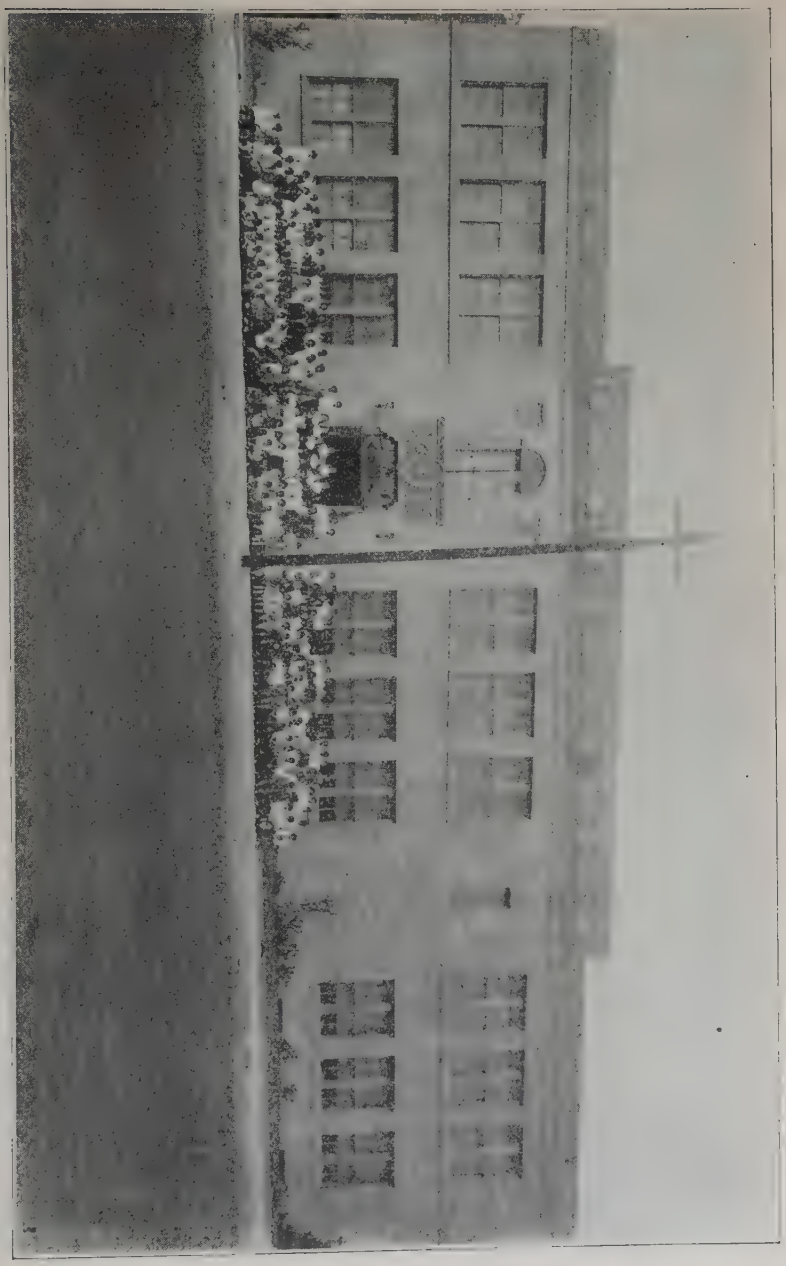
old parsonage which had become uninhabitable. Rev. Eustaquio Flamenco in 1924 enlarged the building erected in 1913 to accommodate the growing community of priests and lay-brothers. He has also, at this writing—February, 1926—completed a new school building on North Broadway for the seven or eight hundred children clamoring for admission to the school of the parish.

The Rev. Juan Caballeria, 1906, opened a parochial school on Alpine Street for one hundred and sixty-five children under six Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart; but the number of pupils never exceeded one hundred ninety in 1910. Since then the numbers steadily increased to four hundred and twenty-four in charge of ten Sisters in 1924, which fact rendered imperative the erection of a new school building.

Father Caballeria's school was not the first institution of the kind in Los Angeles. From his first *Pastoral,* issued on December 28, 1855, we learn that Bishop Amat had succeeded in enlisting six Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Emmitsburg, Maryland, for his diocese. They left New York on November 21, 1855, and arrived at San Pedro by way of the Isthmus of Panamá on January 5, 1856. By stage they finally reached Los Angeles, established their first convent at the corner of Macy and Alameda streets, and opened a little school later known as "Institute and Orphan Asylum of the Sisters of Charity."

The Societies connected with the Parish of Our Lady of the Angels are the following:

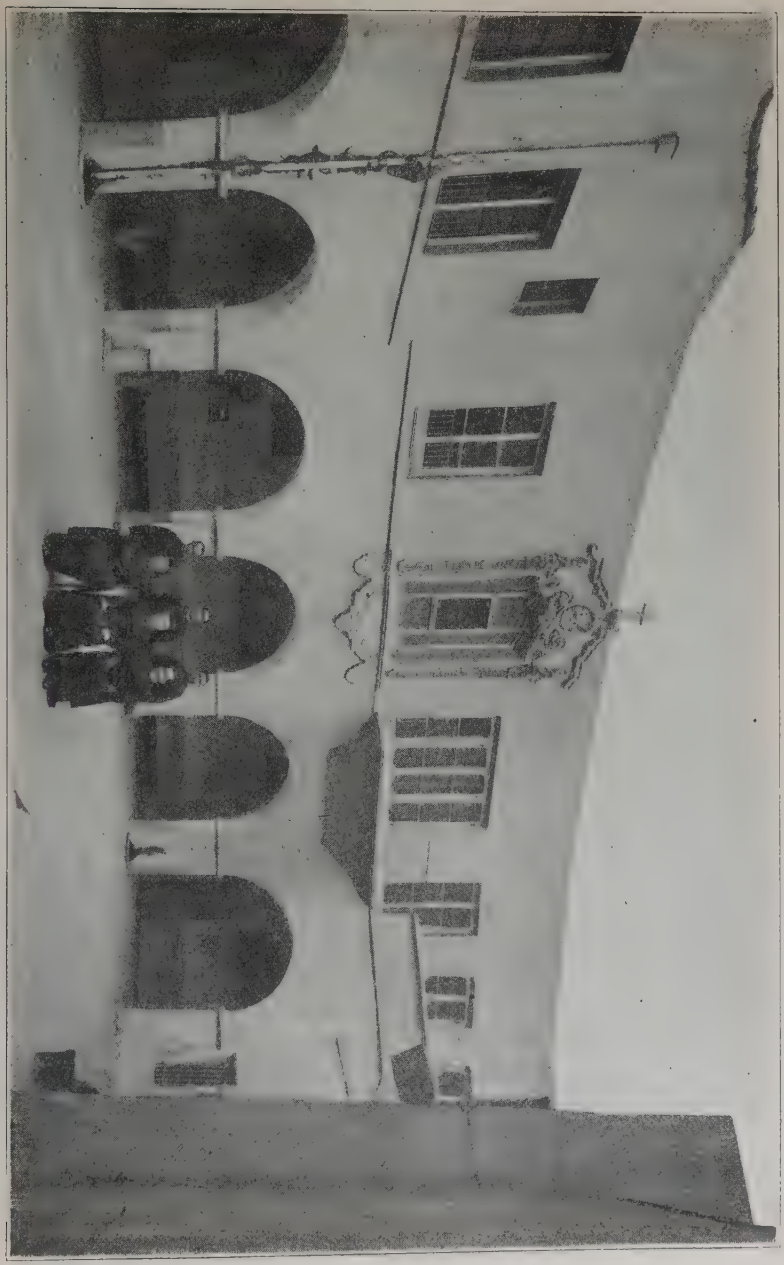
Archicofradia del Corazon de Maria.
Asociacion de Nuestra Senora del Carmen.
Asociacion de Hijas de Maria.
Carmen Reveles.
Sociedad del Altar.
Asociacion de la Vela.
Asociacion del Apostolado.
Asociacion de Jovenes Luises.
Apostolado y Vela Perpetua.
Conferencia de San Vicente.
Velacion Nocturna (Noche Feliz) Union Mutualista.



PAROCHIAL SCHOOL OF OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS, LOS ANGELES. (Hess Photo.)

It is now in order to give a brief sketch of the Venerable Archbishop Antonio Maria Claret, the founder of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The new Congregation of Missionary Priests was scarcely heard of in the United States twenty years ago; but since then the members have spread with marvelous rapidity. They have become very popular as missionaries and pastors among the Mexicans and have secured for themselves the respect of their fellow priests. They are particularly enthusiastic about their holy founder, who must have been a remarkable man, indeed, since he could attract so many of the secular clergy to follow his example.

Antonio Maria Claret was born at Sallent, Diocese of Vich, Catalonia, Spain, on December 23, and baptized on Christmas Day, 1807. His parents were Juan and Josefa Claret, a pious and industrial couple who plied the trade of cotton weaving. He passed his childhood blamelessly and his boyhood innocently so that his parents never found it necessary to correct him. He received his early education in the school of his native city. Later young Antonio himself became a weaver, and by his industry and piety gained the confidence of the employers so that in spite of his youth he became a sort of foreman among the fellow workers. He seemed to be contented with his state of life; at all events it dawned upon him but slowly that he was called to a higher state in which he could be of much more use to Almighty God. With the consent of his parents young Antonio Maria began the necessary studies, and, as he was endowed with a bright intellect, and withal exceedingly studious, young Claret passed the usual examinations with honor. The celebrated philosopher and apologetical writer, Jayme Balmes, was among his fellow students. In 1833 he received Minor Orders at the seminary of Vich, early in 1834 subdeaconship, and later in the year deaconship. Finally, on June 13, the feast of St. Anthony, his patron saint, 1835, Antonio Maria Claret was elevated to the priesthood. He celebrated his first holy Mass on June 23rd



PATIO VIEW OF NEW RECTORY AND COMMUNITY OF OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS

in his native city, and was stationed there as assistant priest. The pastor died not long after, whereupon the Rev. Antonio Maria was himself promoted to the responsible position.

He could now give fully sway to his spirit of mortification and other means of personal sanctification, to his love for the little ones and for the poor, and his zeal for the salvation of souls. Ere long he became known far beyond the limits of his parish for his holy life and for his fervent manner of preaching which caused him to be in demand all over Catalonia to preach missions and retreats. Remarkable success accompanied his efforts. Conversions were numerous, and many of them were declared plainly miraculous. At all events, priests who watched Father Claret closely were filled with admiration for his personal sanctity. From trying to imitate his virtues a number of them resolved to join him. When they at length made their desire known to him, he hesitated, but, after taking counsel with his spiritual guide and the ecclesiastical authorities, especially the Bishop of the Diocese, Father Claret designated the feast of Our Lady of Carmel, July 16, 1849, as the day on which he and the five secular priests, his first disciples, should formally unite and devote themselves to missionary work under his leadership. On the day appointed the six priests assembled in the chapel of the seminary at Vich, and with simple ceremonies established the Congregation of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The founders were the Rev. Antonio Maria Claret, Rev. Esteban Sala, Rev. José Xifre, Rev. Domingo Fabregas, Rev. Jayme Clotet, and Rev. Manuel Vilaro.

The chief objects of the new institute were set forth as being the glory of God, personal sanctification, and the salvation of souls everywhere. The means to achieve these objects by the new Congregation were indicated as follows:

1. The Practice of Religious Virtues.
2. The Exercise of Prayer.
3. The Teaching of the Christian Doctrine.
4. The Preaching of the Word of God.
5. The Conducting of Missions and Retreats.

SANCTUARY OF OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS, LOS ANGELES

6. The Apostolate of the Catholic Press.
7. The Conducting of Schools, Colleges, and Seminaries, and all kindred works connected with any or all of them.

Father Claret had guided and grounded his little community but a few months, when to his surprise and consternation he suddenly received official notification that Pope Pius IX had appointed him Archbishop of Santiago, Cuba. The Pearl of the Antilles was not noted for fervor in matters religious, which gave him all the more concern and made him hesitate to accept the dignity. For his disciples the news came as a heavy blow to their aspirations; but they all proved their worth by clinging to the standard of life chosen. Furthermore their founder would continue a certain supervision over them even at such a great distance. When all had thus been satisfactorily arranged, Father Claret at last yielded to the call of the Pope, and was consecrated in the cathedral of Vich on Rosary Sunday, October 6, 1850.

Archbishop Claret took his departure from Barcelona on December 28, 1850. A great concourse of people accompanied him to the landing to show their esteem and to receive his last blessing. Besides Father Manuel Vilaro, of his new community, who went along as his secretary, His Grace had enlisted nine secular priests of superior learning and withal zealous preachers eager to assist in reviving the religious spirit on the Island of Cuba. The party of apostolic men headed by the Archbishop landed at Santiago on February 16, 1851. The fame of the new Archbishop had preceded him, and brought to the shore a multitude of people to receive him. Soon an unwonted activity began. Led by the Archbishop himself, Missions and Retreats were held everywhere with notable success. The Archbishop traversed every part of the Archdiocese three times, and some portions four times, over primitive roads and in primitive fashion. Hardships of every kind were encountered; but the ardor of the Archbishop and of his faithful helpers never seemed to lessen.

The Archbishop meanwhile never forgot that he was the father and shepherd of the little ones, the poor and the dis-

tressed of every description. Schools accordingly multiplied, hospitals were opened or better equipped, and numerous societies and confraternities gave evidence of renewed Christian

MOST REV. ANTONIO MARIA CLARET, FOUNDER OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE MISSIONARY SONS OF THE IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY

life. Catholic literature was extensively distributed. Archbishop Claret himself wrote many books, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., for the instruction, edification, and defense of his people.

Such manifold apostolic activity must have caused much loss to the dominion of Satan, since his depraved human

agents endeavored to silence the fearless defender of Religion and Christian morals by several attempts on the Archbishop's life. Only one of these was partially successful. It happened at Holguin on February 1, 1856, at 8:30 in the evening. Just as the Archbishop emerged from the church where he had preached a sermon on the Blessed Virgin, an unknown man stepped up to the prelate and wanted to cut his throat with a razor. The Archbishop noticed the move, and quickly covered his throat with his handkerchief, but received a deep gash in the jaw. The Archbishop's wound was quickly attended to by a skilled surgeon in a drug store nearby. On regaining consciousness the prelate's first words were that the deluded culprit should be pardoned. Subsequently the indignant population of Santiago presented the Archbishop with a costly chalice studded with precious stones in token of sympathy and protest.

In the meantime the Archbishop's fame for holiness had reached the Queen's Court at Madrid, with the result that she called him to Spain. The command came to him at Santiago on March 18, 1857, six years after his arrival in Cuba. Not knowing the nature of the command, the Venerable Prelate hastened to Madrid. On reaching the royal presence, Queen Isabella informed him she had called him to aid here in securing the salvation of her soul. She wanted him to be her spiritual director and confessor. The Servant of God replied that he must have some time to consider the matter. The Pope must be notified also so that a successor could be appointed for Santiago. Finally, having long recommended the matter to God, and the Pope himself urging him to consent, the Archbishop agreed to the Queen's proposition on condition that he should not have to live at the royal Court, and that he should be free to do missionary work as time permitted. Both demands were granted, and thus he could also aid countless other souls that chose him for their spiritual director.

In September, 1868, Queen Isabella and her family were banished from Spain. Archbishop Claret accompanied her to France, but in the following year went to Rome, where he was

received with great honor by Pope Pius IX. The Servant of God took part in the preparations made for the Vatican Council, which was to be held in 1870. When the discussion relative to the Infallibility of the Pope was at its height, Archbishop Claret made an address on the subject which astonished the entire assembly for its forcefulness and eloquence. It was his last public appearance in a pulpit of Rome; for soon after the Servant of God became ill. Being a Spanish exile, Father José Xifre, the superior general of their Congregation, had him transferred to Prades in France, and then to the Cistercian monastary of Fontfroide, where in preparation for death Archbishop Antonio Maria Claret received the Last Sacraments at the hands of Father José Xifre, made his profession of Faith, and pronounced his vows as a member of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. He suffered some time longer, but at last passed away to his reward on October 24, 1870.

The body was temporarily deposited in a tomb of the cemetery three days later. On the sepulchre were inscribed the famous words of the dying Pope Gregory VII: "I have Loved Justice and Hated Iniquity. Therefore I Die in Exile." When peace once more came to Spain, the remains of the Venerable Servant of God were transferred to the church of Our Lady of Mercy at Vich, where they are still venerated by thousands of the faithful.

Wonderful things have been related of the Venerable Founder, which of course had to be left unnoticed here. After all, such happenings are not what the Catholic Church would take up for consideration in the first place. It is the practice *in an heroic degree* of the Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and of the Cardinal Virtues of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance that must be proved beyond a doubt before any other steps follow. This process in the case of Archbishop Claret has been completed; for, after the last session of the General Congregation held in the Vatican on December 9, 1925, it had resulted favorably. His Holiness

Pope Pius XI, on January 6, 1926, amid the splendors of the Papal Court, solemnly proclaimed and promulgated the Decree on the eminent and heroic virtues of the Venerable Antonio Maria Claret, Founder of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. In the address delivered on this occasion, Pope Pius XI heartily praised Archbishop Claret's use of the press for the dissemination of Catholic Truth.

The Servant of God Antonio Maria Claret was, indeed, not only an ardent missionary and wise director of souls, but a most prolific writer. As the occasion might demand, he would discuss in books, pamphlets, or leaflets various subjects in the range of Christian doctrine, morals, philosophy, economics, etc. The long list of his literary works are in evidence. The mere titles of his books and articles would cover nearly three pages like these. The wonder is that he found the time to compose so many literary productions. The venerable author derived no pecuniary benefit from his writings, because he would distribute his works free to the poor, or on his missionary tours, as for instance in Cuba he distributed *gratis* 200,000 copies of various books and pamphlets. In Andalusia he had twenty-five tons of his literary works and those of other authors given away. Great quantities would also be sold, but this money he would use to assist writers, who for lack of means were unable to publish meritorious works. He also founded at Barcelona the *Libreria Religiosa* for the printing of his own literary productions, and at Madrid *St. Michael's Academy* for the purpose of aiding Catholic authors to publish and circulate Catholic Literature.

In the address mentioned before, Pope Pius XI, pointing to Archbishop Claret's zeal for the spread of Catholic literature, remarked: "It has been asserted that, if St. Paul lived in our days, he would devote himself to journalism. That this would literally be the case, I doubt, but in spirit this would surely be the case; for unquestionably he would with great zeal make use of the press since the press is the greatest instrument for the spread of ideas."

RT. REV. JOHN MAIZTEGUI, C.M.F., D.D.
Bishop of Tanis (Egypt) *in Partibus Infidelium,* and Vicar-Apostolic of Darien

A great honor came to the Old Mission of San Gabriel just as we received the galley proofs for this volume on its ancient history. The telegraph announced the news from Rome that the Holy Father, Pope Pius XI, on July 15, 1926, had named our friend Father Juan Maíztegui, C.M.F., pastor of Mission San Gabriel, Bishop of Tanis *in partibus infidelium* (Egypt) and Vicar Apostolic of Darien on the Isthmus of Panamá. Naturally, we heartily rejoice with his Brethren of the Congregation of the Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and with his parishioners, since it was his Reverence who, in the name of his Community, had us compile this history of the Old Mission. Through the kindness of Father Miguel Oñate, C.M.F., of San Gabriel, we have secured the biographical notes with which we now close the narrative.

Bishop Maíztegui was born on April 30, 1878, at Yurreta, Vizcaya, Diocese of Victoria. His parents were Pedro Maiztegui and wife Eugenia Besoitaiturria. A few hours after birth he was baptized at St. Michael's Church by the assistant pastor, Rev. Juan de Larpita, the sponsors being Domingo de Aranéchea and Antonia Echaburu. He was confirmed when still a small child by the Bishop of Victoria. His early education was acquired at the school of his native town. He joined the Congregation when only ten years of age at Valmaseda, Viscaya, studying there Latin and Rhetoric for four years. Next he studied philosophy for three years at the University of Cervera, Lerida, Catalonia. There he also made his vows in the Congregation at the age of sixteen years. For five years thereafter young Maíztegui studied Dogmatic and Moral Theology at Santo Domingo de la Calzada, province of Logroño, Old Castile.

Meanwhile the young cleric received the Minor Orders at Santo Domingo from Bishop Mariano Cidad; subdeaconship on September 2, 1901, at the same place from Bishop J. M. Escuder; and deaconship at Santo Domingo on June 22, 1902, from Cardinal Aguirre, Archbishop of Burgos. Finally, on June 29, 1902, at the same place, Deacon Maíztegui was elevated to the priesthood by the same Cardinal Aguirre.

Soon after his ordination Rev. Juan Maíztegui was sent to Portugal, and labored there for seven years, during which a revolution occurred causing him to be imprisoned for three days. Leaving Europe for the United States, Father Maíztegui arrived at Mission San Gabriel, his first station, on January 17, 1911; but after two months he was transferred to Our Lady of the Angels, and thence on June 2 to San Antonio, Texas. In 1915 he was made superior of the parish at Newman, Calif., and remained there for six years. For a few months he acted as pastor of the Immaculate Heart Church, San Antonio, Texas, but returned to California in 1923, when the provincial headquarters were moved from San Antonio to California, he being First Consultor of the Province of the Immaculate Heart Province. After having charge of St. Elizabeth's Church, Los Angeles, for a while, Father Maíztegui in November, 1924, was appointed pastor of San Gabriel, his residence till his departure for his episcopal see, Colon in the Canal Zone.

Bishop John Maíztegui's consecration took place at the Cathedral of St. Vibiana, Los Angeles, on Sunday, October 17, 1926, at the hands of Rt. Rev. John J. Cantwell, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Los Angeles and San Diego. The Assistant Consecrators were the Rt. Rev. P. J. Keane, D.D., Bishop of Sacramento, and the Rt. Rev. J. B. McGinley, D.D., Bishop of Fresno and Monterey. Archbishop Austin Dowling, D.D., of St. Paul, Minn., and Bishop Daniel J. Gerke, D.D., of Tucson, Arizona, were also present in the sanctuary. Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, D. D., Archbishop of San Francisco, preached the sermon to an immense concourse of people.

The new Vicariate was once a Diocese, the first one, in fact, on the mainland of America. Only Santo Domingo in the West Indies antedates it by nine years. It was on August 28, 1813, that Pope Leo X appointed Fr. Juan de Quevedo, a Franciscan, Bishop of Darien, or Santa Maria de la Antigua. Bishop Quevedo with some missionaries arrived there and took possession on June 30, 1514.

APPENDIX

A

SAN GABRIEL—STRENGTH OF GOD

Our knowledge of the Archangel Gabriel is altogether derived from the Bible. The first mention of him we find in the Book of Daniel, the Prophet, chapter viii, 16, where Gabriel is named and given orders to explain to Daniel a vision, which he had seen but not understood. The speech runs from verse 17 to 26, which it is not important to reproduce here.

In the next chapter, ix, however, Gabriel makes a most important revelation concerning the coming of the Savior of mankind. After a long and ardent prayer he writes: "Now while I was yet speaking, and praying, and confessing my sins, and the sins of my people of Israel, and presenting my supplications in the sight of God . . . behold the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision, at the beginning, flying swiftly touched me at the time of the evening sacrifice. And he instructed and spoke to me, and said: 'O, Daniel, I am now come forth to teach thee, and that thou mightest understand. From the beginning of thy prayers the word came forth; and I am now come to show it to thee, because thou art a man of desires; therefore do thou mark the word, and understand the vision. Seventy weeks are shortened upon the people, and upon the holy city, that transgression may be finished; and sin may have an end, and iniquity may be abolished; and everlasting justice may be brought; and vision and prophecy may be fulfilled; and the saint of saints may be annointed. Know thou therefore, and take notice; that from the going forth of the word to build up Jerusalem again unto the Christ the prince, there shall be seventy weeks, and sixty-two weeks (weeks of years); and the street shall be built again, and the walls in straitness of times. And after sixty-two weeks Christ shall be slain; and the people that shall deny him shall not be his. And a people with their leader that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be waste, and after the end of the war the appointed desolation. And he shall confirm the covenant with many, in one week; and in the half of the week the victim and the sacrifice shall fail; and there shall be in the temple the abomination of desolation; and the desolation shall continue even to the consummation and to the end.'" (Dan. ix. 20-27.) (Bible students know that this prophecy was literally fulfilled.)

Turning to the New Testament, we find Gabriel as the ambassador of Almighty God announcing the most important event in the history of the human race; but first he goes with a special message to an aged couple. St. Luke relates the incident as follows: "There was in the days of Herod, the king of Judea, a certain priest named Zachary, of the course of Abia; and his wife was of the daughter of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth. And they were both just before the Lord, walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord without blame. And they had no son, for that Elizabeth was barren, and they both were well advanced in years. And it came to pass when he executed the priestly function in the order of his course before God, according to the custom of the priestly office, it was his lot to offer incense, going into the temple of the Lord, and all the multitude of the people was praying without at the hour of incense. And there appeared to him an angel of the Lord, standing on the right side of the altar of incense. And Zachary seeing him, was troubled, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said to him: Fear not, Zachary, for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness, and many shall rejoice in his nativity, for he shall be great before the Lord, and shall drink no wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb. And he shall convert many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, that he may turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children, and the incredulous to the wisdom of the just, to prepare unto the Lord a perfect people. And Zachary said to the angel: Whereby shall I know this? for I am an old man, and my wife is advanced in years? And the Angel answering, said to him: I am Gabriel, who stands before God; and am sent to speak to thee, and bring thee good tidings. And behold, thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be able to speak until the day wherein these things shall come to pass, because thou hast not believed my words, which shall be fulfilled in their time." Thus far Gabriel. The rest of the narrative is known to the reader.

Finally St. Gabriel figures in the most honorable embassy ever exercised by an angel. St. Luke relates the event in the same chapter, verses 26-38, as follows:

"And in the sixth month (after the preceding vision), the Angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, called Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women. Who, having heard, was troubled at his saying, and thought with herself what manner of salutation this should be. And the Angel said to her: Fear not, Mary, for thou shalt bring forth

a son; and thou shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High; and the Lord shall reign in the house of Israel forever. And of his kingdom there shall be no end. And Mary said to the angel: How shall this be done, because I know not man? And the angel answering said to her: The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. And therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she also has conceived a son in her old age; and this is the sixth month with her that is called barren; because no word shall be impossible with God. And Mary said: Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it done to me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her."

Such is the great Patron of Mission San Gabriel, and such is his prerogative. The Catholic Church celebrates the feast of the Archangel Gabriel with a beautiful office in the Roman Breviary and with a Mass on March 24, the day preceding the feast of the Annunciation.

B

ROUTE OF COL. ANZA AND FR. GARCÉS ACROSS THE SIERRAS

(TO CHAPTER II)

Widely different opinions are held among historians and other writers with regard to the route taken by Fr. Garcés and Col. Anza on their way from Yuma on the Colorado River to Mission San Gabriel. Dr. Elliott Coues ("On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer," pp. 204-205) writes: "Puerto de San Carlos can be located with precision as the modern San Gorgónio Pass or San Timoteo Cañon, through which the railroad runs between the San Bernardino Mountains on the north and the San Jacinto Mountains on the south; stations San Górgonio (or Beaumont), Banning, San Jacinto, Whitewater, etc. It was named March 15, 1774, on Anza's expedition with Garcés and Juan Diaz. We hear of the Puerto de San Carlos again in connection with the expedition of 1775-1776, page 87 of Font's Diary, at date of December 26, 1775, etc."

Dr. Coues (and Bancroft who agrees with him) misread or misunderstood Fr. Pedro Font's description. Moreover, the lattiude given by Fr. Font (33 degrees and 37 minutes in the Cañada de San Patricio, more than twenty-five miles south of San Gorgónio Pass), in no wise corresponds to San Gorgónio Pass through which the railroad runs.

Though familiar with the latter, having resided at Banning about one year, we have visited the mission stations to the south of it but once, which would not enable us to speak with authority on the subject. In order to remove every doubt, however, we have asked the Rev. Florian Hahn, at the time Superintendent of the Indian Boarding School at

ROUTE ACROSS THE SIERRAS IN THE EARLY DAYS AND THE CAMINO REAL FROM SAN DIEGO TO SAN GABRIEL

Banning, and for many years missionary of that district, to make a close survey of the route described by Fr. Font, the chaplain of the Anza Expedition. With a copy of Fr. Font's Diário in hand, the Rev. Florian Hahn went over the district so familiar to him, and arrived at the firm conviction that the Expedition of 1775-1776, and consequently the one of 1774, must have traveled south of the San Jacinto Mountains as follows: San Felipe Pass or Cañon on the border of the desert; Los Coyotes Cañon; Puerto de San Carlos (entrance to Cahuila Valley); Cahuila Valley or Valle de San Juan Bautista (the cañon between Cahuila Valley and San Jacinto Valley through which runs San Juan Bautista Creek, south of the village of *Florida,* and which is probably the Cañada de San Patricio of Fr. Font); San Jacinto Cañon (probably the Cañada de San Joseph of Fr. Font) towards Moreno; thence by Roubidoux Mount (the *Loma* of Fr. Font, probably) to the Santa Ana and Mission San Gabriel.

Through the courtesy of Cave J. Couts of Vista, San Diego County, we are enabled to settle the question conclusively by means of a drawing of the route taken by the troops of the United States from the Colorado River to San Gabriel. They doubtless took the traditional road traveled by the Spaniards. This drawing, reproduced here in facsimile, was made by Cave Couts's father in 1850, when lieutenant of the 1st Dragoons, U. S. Army. It clearly shows that the troops did not journey by way of Banning and Beaumont, but farther south. The exact line of march between San Diego and San Gabriel is also clearly stated.

C

LOS ANGELES—DATE OF FOUNDING

(TO CHAPTER IV)

As noted in its place, the exact date of the founding of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula is in doubt. The Franciscan historian and biographer of Fr. Junípero Serra, a very careful chronicler, has *"a ultimos del año de 1781."* Bancroft gives the date as September 4, 1781. Hittéll names September 1, 1781, as the correct date, without, like Bancroft, offering any authority. Mofras, who probably heard it at Los Angeles, has at the end of December, 1781, which agrees with Fr. Palou.

We shall endeavor to solve the doubt by turning to an episode near the close of Governor Neve's administration.

Commandante General Teodoro de Croix, the friend of Neve and of the same mind with him on the subject of the Missions, had been ordered by the King of Spain to carry out the promises made by the viceroy and Fr. Garcés to Chief Palma of the Yumas on the Colorado, and to establish a Mission as well as a presidio among the Yumas.

This was altogether against De Croix's grain; for it seems he and Neve had agreed to let no more Missions rise after the plan of those established in California thus far. At all events, Neve subsequently caused the founding of Mission Santa Barbara to be delayed four years, because he wanted the converts to remain in their camps, and the Fathers were not to be with them to carry on agriculture, stockraising or mechanical arts. De Croix, for reasons that are not apparent, likewise was an enemy of the Mission system as conducted. He was therefore in no hurry to execute the king's orders, but when driven to act he laid down regulations which the missionaries declared would invite disaster.

"There was to be no presidio or garrison," writes Bancroft, the friend of Neve, "no mission or pueblo proper. The soldiers, under a sub-lieutenant as commander, were to protect the settlers, who were to be granted house-lots and fields, while the friars were to act as pastors to attend to the spiritual interests of the colonists, but at the same time to be missionaries The priests were to have nothing to do with the temporal management, and the native converts were not to be required to live in regular mission communities, but receive lands and live in the pueblos with the Spaniards. Each pueblo was to have ten soldiers, ten settlers, and six laborers.

"This was certainly a change in the mission system. Palou italicized it as a *nuevo modo de conquistar,* and passes on without further comment to relate results. Arricivita (Franciscan chronicler) denounces both the system and its author, charging De Croix with direct opposition to the laws of Spain, especially in uniting Spaniards and Indians in the same pueblo, and with having in his stupid pride and ignorance exposed over fifty families to sure destruction. *It must be admitted* that De Croix acted unwisely. The time and place were not well chosen for such an experiment. Anza, a warm advocate of the Colorado establishments, a man of great ability and experience, and one, moreover, who had seen the Yumas and their neighbors at their best, had expressed his opinion that the missions could not be safely founded in this region except under the protection of a strong presidio. At the time of Anza's return it would have been hazardous to try the experiment, but in the light of the friars' reports it was a *criminally stupid blunder."* (*California,* i, pp. 357-358.)

Despite the entreaties of Fr. Garcés and his companions, De Croix ordered the soldiers and settlers to proceed to the Colorado as he had directed. Thus they suddenly arrived at the Puerto de la Concepcion (Fort Yuma later), the place designated, in the fall of 1780. The whole company consisted of twenty colonists, twelve laborers, and twenty-one soldiers. All brought their wives and children along.

The first pueblo was erected under the title of Purisima Concepcion. The settlers took possession of the best fields belonging to the Indians despite the Spanish laws to the contrary. At first the Indians bore the

FR. FRANCISCO HERMENEGILDO GARCES, O.F.M.

affront with moderation; Fr. Francisco Garcés and Juan Barrenche were stationed here, but could do nothing to allay the growing dissatisfaction of the Indians. At Saints Peter and Paul down the river the situation was the same. Here Fathers Juan Diaz and Matias Moreno, like their companions in Concepcion, beheld with pain and alarm the total disregard of the settlers for the rights and feelings of the Yumas. It was all so different from what the Indians had been promised, and had pictured to themselves from their acquaintance with the Missions on the coast.

While the Yumas were nursing their anger and planning revenge, about the middle of June, 1781, Captain Fernando Rivera, formerly military commander of California, arrived on the eastern bank of the Colorado River with a company of forty military recruits and their families. They were on the way to Santa Barbara Channel, where they were to occupy the presidio of Santa Barbara still to be established. They forded the river above the Gila, and under Ensign Limón commanding nine men made their way through the pass over the mountains taken by Anza in 1775 and 1776. They reached San Gabriel on July 14th, and thus escaped by three weeks a terrible death at the hands of infuriated savages.

After allowing his men and horses to recuperate, probably till the close of the month, as there was no need to hasten the return march, Limón with his nine men set out for Sonora, and by easy stages reached the vicinity of Concepcion (Yuma) about August 20th. A friendly Indian here informed him of what had happened. Doubting the story, Limón, leaving the horses in charge of two soldiers, with his seven men pressed on carefully to reconnoiter. When they reached the site of the pueblo they beheld the blackened ruins of the settlement, and the bodies of the slain colonists scattered over the place. Little time was left for further examination, for on August 21st they were detected by the Yumas, attacked and driven off. They had barely time to mount their horses. The two guards had been killed. In the fight Limón and his son were wounded, but without delay the brave officer and his seven courageous companions hastened back to San Gabriel, arriving there about the close of the month. The news of the terrible calamity caused great excitement and fear among the immigrants, one party of whom had meanwhile, August 18th, come up from Sonora by way of Lower California to establish the pueblo of Los Angeles. Limón himself, however, asked Neve for only twenty additional men in order to punish the Yumas. Instead the governor ordered Limón to return to Sonora by way of Lower California with dispatches for De Croix. The latter meanwhile received the information about the disastrous results of his folly through one of two colonists who escaped the massacre on the Colorado. De Croix, who under date of August 26th warned Neve to take precautions, was

FORT YUMA ACROSS THE RIO COLORADO AT THE TIME OF FR. GARCES.
Site of Yuma City, Arizona, at the Bottom. The Rio Gila, Not Visible, Immediately to the Right.

determined to punish the Yumas, and therefore on September 10th ordered Neve to lead an expedition against them in person, or to have another officer take the command. Neve, who was wont to exhibit much haughty bravery in the face of unarmed missionaries, was in no hurry to expose himself. Pleading that the rainy (!!) season made operations impracticable, he put off chastising the Yumas until the following year. As late as October 29, 1781, however, he reported to De Croix that the colonists for the pueblo to be founded on the Rio Porciuncula had all arrived on August 18th at San Gabriel, where they were obliged to encamp in quarantine for a time, at a distance of a league from the Mission, some of the children having recently recovered from the smallpox. (Bancroft, vol. i, p. 343.)

From the facts and dates presented the readers may now draw their own conclusion as to the time of the founding of Los Angeles. On August 18, 1781, the colonists collected by Rivera arrived at San Gabriel. They were quarantined on account of a case of smallpox. Neve on August 26th issued his instructions for the founding of Los Angeles and for the distribution of lots, etc. He probably determined to have the founding take place on September 1st or 4th, as Hittéll and Bancroft respectively claim. No official record of the proceedings have been discovered. Both authors merely took it for granted that the ceremony had occurred as determined upon. After the issue of the instructions, however, and before the day appointed, Limón appeared with the news of the Colorado massacre. This caused such consternation that the settlers quite properly refused to leave the shelter of the Mission until the Indians should be pacified one way or another. Neve must himself be allowed wisdom and prudence enough to take no risks, and for a fact he fortified himself at the Mission, as Fr. Palou relates, until the danger was over. A little later came orders from De Croix that Neve should take precautions, which he had already done. Hence September 1st or 4th are dates out of the question. Neve himself on October 29th reported nothing more to De Croix than that the settlers had come up, and were quarantined, which indicates that the Pueblo of Los Angeles did not yet exist, and that Governor Neve with the colonists continued to rest in the shelter of Mission San Gabriel. Meanwhile he made preparations for the founding of a Pueblo of Spaniards on the Rio Porciuncula, so called by the first expedition of the year 1769. He gathered together all the immigrants who had come as colonists. To them (by means of a drawing, probably) "he assigned the site and the lands on the banks of the river at a distance of four leagues to the northwest of the Mission of San Gabriel. There, guarded by a corporal and three soldiers, they founded their pueblo at the end of the year 1781 under the title of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciuncula." (Palóu, *Vida, chap.* ii, p. 243.)

D

SAN BERNARDINO RANCHO

(TO CHAPTERS VIII AND X)

"In driving about the San Bernardino Valley, one is fairly certain to pass the ruins of an adobe structure standing on the north side of the road from Redlands to Redlands Junction, about one mile west of the Redlands Mission."

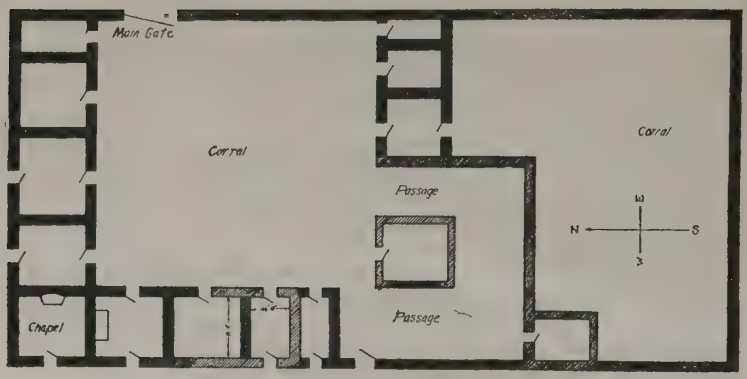
With this paragraph Mr. George William Beattie of East Highlands, Calif., who has known the ruins since 1874, begins a critical study which he has published in pamphlet form. We should like to see all writers on Indian Mission subjects take similar pains to arrive at the truth rather than draw up their imagination and then produce absurdities.

By ignorant authors San Bernardino is often called a Mission, and so lead trusting readers to imagine it to have been like one of the twenty-one Indian establishments formally founded along the coast and conducted as Missions in the Spanish sense of the word.

A Mission is a congregation of convert Indians who make their homes in a village close by the church and who under the eyes of one or two missionary priests learn and practice the Christian Religion, and for their own maintenance are taught mechanical and domestic arts, gardening, agriculture, and stockraising, in order to become useful citizens. San Bernardino was nothing like this, although the missionary Fathers most likely hoped to erect such an establishment there when political conditions should render it possible.

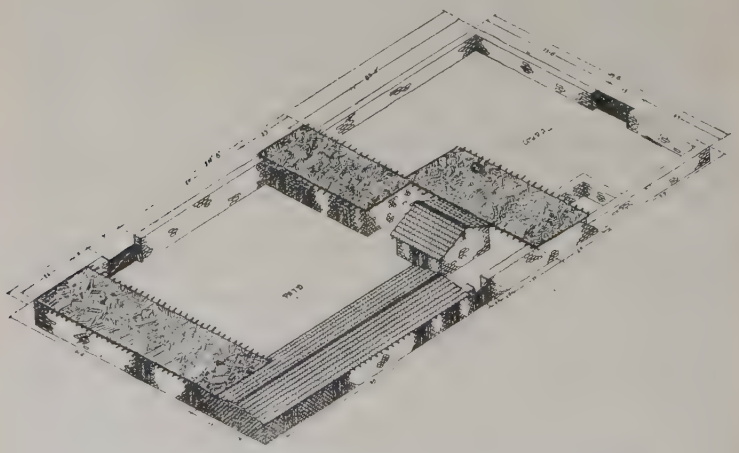
More often San Bernardino is called an *Asistencia*, which would be a Mission on a small scale with all the requisites for a Mission, and with Divine Service held regularly on days of obligation, except that it lacked a resident priest. San Antonio de Pala was such an *Asistencia* to Mission San Luis Rey. Fr. Presidente Narciso Duran, on September 25, 1837, in a letter to the Superior of San Fernando College, Mexico, once uses the term *Asistencia* when speaking of San Bernardino, but in a rather wide sense; for in the same letter he terms San Bernardino a *Rancho*. San Bernardino, however, was never an *Asistencia*, since it lacked all the requisites for such an establishment.

San Bernardino was nothing more than a rancho or cattle farm, around which pastured the thousands of oxen and cows which belonged to Mission San Gabriel. There was a dwelling there for the mayordomo and his family, and there were a few other buildings, or additions to the main structure, which were occupied by the cowherders and their families. One room in the main building was doubtless reserved for the religious devotions. Here, as at the Mission itself, the neophytes and their families would gather for the morning and evening prayers, when they would in the evening recite the Rosary together, one of the community leading, and would sing the beautiful hymns in the



SAN BERNARDINO RANCHO, GROUND PLAN

Walls indicated by light lines still exist in more or less complete form. Solid black lines show walls that have been removed.



SAN BERNARDINO RANCHO, ISOMETRIC DRAWING

When the Americans came in the fifties the flat roofs were in ruins. The portions inhabited at that time were covered with gable roof.

melodious Spanish, then the language of the converts. Here, too, the priest would celebrate holy Mass and give religious instruction; but it is not likely that the missionary ever visited the place on a Sunday or Day of Obligation, because there were only two priests at San Gabriel who had to attend Los Angeles as well. It might have been possible for the priest to visit the place on some Sunday, had the facilities been as they are now, and then he would have celebrated

ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA

holy Mass both at the Mission and at San Bernardino. As it was, the comparatively few neophytes had to be satisfied with an occasional visit on a week-day; but the Father would have to bring along everything requisite for celebrating holy Mass on the little altar in the room named.

It is unfortunate that the inventory made at the end of the year, 1835, when Mission San Gabriel was confiscated, appears to have been lost. San Bernardino would have been mentioned among the other ranchos, and we should then be able to state the number of cattle at San Bernar-

dino besides other information as to the valuation, etc. In the letter to Fr. Guardian, Fr. Duran writes as follows: "San Gabriel founded the beautiful San Bernardino Asistencia, which lately has been given to some private individual in spite of my protest in behalf of the rights of the Indians of San Gabriel, and whose entire restitution I demand to the Day of Judgment."

San Bernardino was named for St. Bernardine of Siena, Italy, where he was born on September 8, 1380, while his father ruled there as governor. After passing his youth blamelessly, and having nearly completed the usual studies for the priesthood, Bernardine entered the Franciscan Order at Siena in 1402, made his vows on September 8, 1403, and was ordained priest on September 8, 1404. Some years later Bernardine devoted himself to preaching missions all over Italy. The reformation of morals which he brought about earned for himself the title of Apostle of Italy. Against profane and impure language he would recommend as an antidote devotion to the Holy Name of the Savior. As reminders Bernardine recommended that the people have in their homes drawings or paintings, and on their persons badges with the initials J. H. S., or simply JHS—Jesus Hominum Salvator—Jesus Savior of Mankind. St. John Capistran, the friend and admirer of Bernardine, was among the first to use the initial JHS on the banner which he bore in the war against the Turks. The Jesuits later adopted the initials as the Coat-of-Arms of their Society. Exhausted from his unceasing labors and hardships, Bernardine died on May 20, 1444. The evidences of his heroic virtues were so clear, and the miracles wrought at his intercession were so numerous and unmistakable, that Pope Nicolaus V placed Bernardine of Siena in the catalogue of the Saints in 1450, only six years after his death.

E

WINE AND LIQUOR AT SAN GABRIEL

(TO CHAPTERS IX AND X)

Alfred Robinson and Eugene de Mofras relate that wine and brandy were produced in extraordinary quantities at Mission San Gabriel, and sold to the settlers or shipped in exchange for merchandise. Harrison Rogers with the Ashley-Smith Expedition at San Gabriel, 1826-1827, speaks of a still at the Mission where grapewine was turned into brandy. There is no evidence that a still existed here before that period. Fr. Sanchez, apparently, first thought of utilizing the large amount of grapes for the purpose of securing additional revenues with which to clothe the neophytes; for we know that with the appearance in California of Governor Echeandia Indian laborers became scarce at the Mission. Women and old people could not carry on agriculture. They were needed in the spinning and weaving rooms to prepare clothing for their families

and those of the soldiers. There was demand for brandy as well as for wine from all classes of settlers and foreigners. The vineyards not being distant, it was so much easier to produce the liquids than to plough, till the land, and gather the harvests. Whatever the quantity, it never reached the figures reported from hearsay. Rogers relates that the decanter with red wine always stood on the table for the benefit of visitors. From Fr. Tapis of Santa Barbara we know that the missionaries would treat their friends and visitors from the military commander down to the footsore traveler to a glass of grape brandy. The custom was universal. Its absence at the Mission would have been regarded as a lack of courtesy. Although the missionaries indulged in the liquor sparingly or not at all, and the Indians were never given any brandy, wine was the universal beverage. Coffee and tea had not yet been adopted. Chocolate instead was used by the missionaries, but it had to be imported while money was scarce. Thus it was, as in their native countries of Spain, Italy, and France, that wine had become the common beverage, and was used at all meals.

Considerable quantities of grape brandy were used for medicinal purposes, other medicines and doctors not being available during the early years.

Grape brandy was also employed to fortify poor wine lest it grew sour. Even altar wine might be treated in that way provided the alcohol in the wine after treatment did not exceed eighteen per cent.

Lest those very active in the war on every kind of liquor imagine that the custom of the Spanish people in California and in their native countries was something not in vogue among English-speaking folks, we reproduce some samples of the use of much stronger liquor than wine or grape brandy in the Eastern and Southern States. Bishop Edwin H. Hughes of the Methodist Church, in an address on prohibition, delivered at Santa Barbara on May 20, 1914, and reported in the *Morning Press* on May 21st, "referred to a matter of record at the Methodist Conference of 1812, just one hundred and two years ago, when a resolution was offered and *defeated*' which would have prohibited preachers in the church from selling spirituous liquor. There was a time when liquor was even served at church gatherings."

That was about fifteen years before a still was constructed at Mission San Gabriel.

The following Associated Press dispatch, dated Washington, D. C., January 15, 1921, is especially illuminating: "An incident of the 'good old days' was recalled today by Miss Alice Robinson, Representative-elect from Oklahoma. During a talk with newspaper men at the capitol, prohibition came up. 'Things are quite different now,' said Miss Robinson. 'When my grandfather was ordained for the ministry, such a big crowd gathered for the ceremony that he had to open three barrels of whiskey.'"

One more specimen of temperance for the benefit of those who are prone to criticize the Spanish missionaries. "Boston, Mass., February 13, 1922.—Night Dispatch." Dr. Charles Eliot, President-emeritus of Harvard University, in a letter submitted to the legislative Committee on Legal Affairs, urging that Massachusetts take her share in putting the prohibition measure into force, declared that the Puritans were hard drinkers. "People that know nothing about the Puritans," the letter said, "often say that Puritans were joy-killers. Some of their religious dogmas tended in that direction; but the *Puritans were hard drinkers* and their descendants still illustrate the evil consequences."

F

THE RENEGADE INDIANS OF SAN GABRIEL

Under this head a certain Frank J. Polley, the president of the *Historical Society* of Los Angeles, on June 1, 1896, read an article to the assembled members. He began with the following queer sentence: "The fact renegade Indians existed, prima facie presupposes their ill-treatment by the Mission fathers." Had Polley (and others who make such and similar charges) been acquainted with Indians anywhere; had he been familiar with the history of San Gabriel; and had he been governed by less prejudice, he would not have made such an illogical statement. Indians would run away, like white school-boys, for various reasons. The least truthful one was ill-treatment. Sometimes the lure of the wilds, a sort of spring fever, would seize them; at other times wild berries were ripe, or the hunting season was on, when nothing would detain the young fellows; in most cases the pent-up animal propensity, which they could not gratify at the Mission, would make them leave, though they knew a whipping would be the consequence. These runaways, however, during the Mission period were not renegades by any means. Most of them would allow themselves to be led back to the Mission when hunger reminded them of the three full meals which were enjoyed by their companions at the Mission home.

There were large numbers of savages in the mountains whom it had not been possible for the missionaries to reach. These, joined by a few incorrigible runaways, occasionally would steal cattle, horses, or sheep to appease the hunger of their families, and at the same time they would revenge themselves for wrongs committed against them by settlers.

On this subject Fr. Presidente Narciso Duran has something that is illuminating. Incidentally we learn what really ailed the paisano chiefs and their henchmen, and why they disregarded the property rights of the Church and of the Indians. Writing to the Fr. Guardian of San

Fernando College under date of September 25, 1837, two years after the confiscation of the Mission, Fr. Duran says: "The colonists with their heads full of (French—infidel) philosophy, have undertaken to interfere. They have sent to the pagan Indians letters and philosophical papers full of the pompous matter, which is already disgusting the people that think, that the Friars, for instance, do nothing more than enslave the Indians; but that now their friends and deliverers have come into the trap. They were alarmed, and came to attack Mission San Gabriel. Fr. Tomas Esténaga went out to meet them, to speak to them, and to pacify them. Instead they bound him and insulted him, and carried him off to the mountains to sacrifice him. When those same colonists observed that with only a small dose of philosophy the pagans readily became ultra-barbarians, shame seized them, and they hastened to liberate the missionary. This same philosophic-barbarian spirit led the Indians to offer some little gratitude, in that they, among other things, robbed and burnt San Bernardino Rancho, and killed the neophytes whom the Mission had there, and who could not save themselves by flight. It became necessary to punish the assailants. In consequence of which many of the deluded gentiles on the field of battle paid for their philosophic credulity with their lives." (*The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 108-109.)

Polley would have it appear that such depredations were committed by neophyte Indians alone, and that the missionaries were to blame. While the Fathers were in charge such criminal acts, even on the part of the savages, seldom occurred; but when the management of the Mission was taken from them, and the neophytes saw that in 1841, seven years after hireling administrators had controlled the property, fewer than a hundred head of cattle were left of the 16,500, surrendered by Fr. Esténaga in 1834, they grew bitter. What would become of their own families? Had they labored all these years in order that outsiders should enjoy what was accumulated? Then it was that surviving neophytes would help themselves to what they regarded as their own.

Polley, like other superficial writers, claims that convert Indians lost caste with the pagan tribesmen. All the masculine neophytes would have their turn for a vacation. For two weeks they could go whither they pleased. They would visit their relatives in the pagan villages for two weeks at a time. They would then return accompanied by pagan relatives or friends, whom the description of life at the Mission with plenty to eat had attracted. Many converts owed their conversion to this system of visits among the tribesmen. A lasso was not needed at all to bring them to the Missions, and the Fathers never thought of such a means for securing catechumens. So much for the loss of caste.

In a community of 1,600 Indians, many of whom had but recently emerged from the savage state, where everything was permissible, there would be regulations to preserve order and peace. Every white settlement lives under certain regulations. The penalty for transgression differs. For the Indians such punishments were chosen as would be effective. The neophytes were regarded as children, very thoughtless children at that. The punishments were accordingly adapted to their state of mind. *Spare the rod and spoil the child* was, in those days very well remembered even among the whites. It was found that the untutored Indian would grasp the wickedness of a misdeed only when he felt it on his bare back, and in the measure that he felt it. Hence corporal punishment for willful transgression was adopted by the Jesuits in Lower California, and the Franciscans continued the practice in Upper California with beneficial results. Spanish laws restricted the application of the lash to twenty-five stripes for the same misdeed. The Fathers, however, like true fathers who love their children (and they certainly loved the neophytes or they would not have made such extraordinary sacrifices for them), were loathe to inflict corporal punishments, wherefore the whole dose of twenty-five lashes was seldom applied, save in the case of concubinage, repeated stealing of valuables, refusal to work, etc. Generally five, ten, or a dozen stripes would be the limit. Those punished would frequently laugh at the stripes received, so little it pained them. Of course, they would take care lest the whole number without any deduction would be inflicted.

Some writers thoughtlessly give currency to the unwarranted charges of the soured Scotchman Hugo Reid, who came to Los Angeles in 1835, seven years after Fr. Zalvidea had on account of infirmity been transferred to San Juan Capistrano. Reid in his soured mood declaimed that Fr. Zalvidea must have considered whipping as meat and drink to the neophytes, for they had it morning, noon and night. There are people who will swallow such nonsense and Polley belonged to that class.

Bancroft, not a friend of the missionaries, has this to say about Fr. Zalvidea: "From the first he was rated by his superiors as one of the best and most zealous of the friars, as priest, teacher, and manager of temporalities. Zalvidea's great field of labor was at San Gabriel, where he toiled incessantly for twenty years, and with the greatest success, to build up the temporal interests of the mission, but never neglecting spiritual affairs or sacrificing the love of his neophytes or the esteem of all who came in contact with him. He was doubtless in those days a model missionary, and then and later regarded by the common people as a saint. . . . There is no evidence that he ever had an enemy or said an unkind word of any man." (Bancroft, *California,* vol. v, pp. 619-623.)

It is pleasant to record that Polley was answered before the *Historical Society* by one of its members, the Very Rev. J. Adams, Vicar-General

of the Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles, on November 9, 1896. It is needless to reproduce his arguments. Instead we shall quote Alexander Forbes, who though unfriendly to the Catholic Faith, was constrained to admit: "There are few examples to be found where men enjoy such unlimited confidence and power have not abused them. And yet I have never heard that the missionaries of California have not acted with the most perfect fidelity, or that they have ever betrayed their trust, or exercised inhumanity, and the testimony of all travelers who have visited this country is uniformly to the same effect. The best and unequivocal proof of the good conduct of these Fathers is to be found in the unbounded affection and devotion invariably shown towards them by their Indian subjects. They venerate them not merely as friends and fathers, but with a degree of devotedness approaching adoration." (*California,* pp. 227-230, Forbes.)

Unfriendly critics have found fault with the missionaries because they were of the opinion that whipping was degrading. Let them bear in mind that flogging in the English army was not abolished till the year 1881, nearly forty years after the Mission period. In the English navy to this day, so far as we know, the *Cat o' Nine Tails* is in use. In the navy of the United States sailors were flogged till the year 1850. Flogging soldiers in the United States army continued till the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. With regard to the brutal treatment of sailors on merchant ships let the reader consult Richard Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (pp. 112-118, 122-123). The missionaries were always considerate, and such brutalities as were reported by Dana could never have been perpetrated in the Missions while in charge of the Franciscan Friars. Furthermore, the states of Delaware and Maryland still retain the whippingpost as an instrument of correction or punishment. President Roosevelt himself advocated the whippingpost for wife-beaters.

INDIAN RANCHERIAS IN THE SAN GABRIEL MISSION DISTRICT

The examination by the author of the Baptismal Register of Mission San Gabriel resulted in the discovery of the names of Rancherias frequently noted and claimed as the birthplace of children and adults brought to the Mission for Baptism. The following are the names clearly recorded:

Acusavit.	Cucamobit.	Jutucabit.	Tuyubit.
Acujabit.	Cuinibet.	Jutucunga.	Uchubit.
Ajuibit.	Cuivichi.	Pamoquin.	Tabit.
Chibanga.	Jantivit.	Sibapet.	Yuyuvit.
Copiabit.	Juiubit.	Topet.	

The Rev. Eugene Sugranes, C.M.F., a member of the community of San Gabriel, after a more close search in all the Mission Registers, discovered the following rancherias, many of which may, however, we suspect, indicate the site of a single cabin or two.

Ajuibit.
Ajuinga.
Acuxabit.
Acurabit.
Acuranga.
Amupubit.
Atababit.
Achochobit.
Amuscopiabit.
Asuesabit.
Ajuimiabit.
Acatabranga.
Batequitos.
Bonoquin.
Cabuepet.
Chaubit.
Cacayibit.
Cucamobit.
Cupsabit.
Chibanga.
Comurabit.
Comicrabit.
Chaguayabit.
Choquayabit.
Corobonabit.
Coyubit.
Guapiabit.
Guinibit.
Gebit.
Guibabit.
Guijabepet.
Geverobit.
Guaipet.
Guachpet.
Guibanga.
Gorumuga.
Gonopeapa.
Guanchia.
Juiubit.
Jaibepet.
Jaisobit.
Jutucabit.
Jaisobit.
Jajamobit.
Japchibit.
Jayabit.
Jajobiabit.
Jautbit.
Jaibenga.
Juiunga.
Jutucunga.
Jeberobit.
Jurupe.
Junubabit.
Jaiocopeabit.
Judamobit.
Julagunot.
Lomquin.
Mairobit.
Mamaita.
Mujimam.
Maromabit.
Mapitbit.
Nosabit.
Naasin.
Nonobit.
Najayabit.
Ojubit.
Pafbenga.
Pimubit.
Paparabit.
Pububit.
Pimocabit.
Pajbepet.
Pomoquin.
Peotopa.
Pimicha.
Pamaibit.
Picubit.
Piamubit.
Pabocoya.
Pachechero.
Quisaobit.
Quinquibit.
Quinibit.
Sibapet.
Seobit.
Sapchibit.
Satucubit.
Sotaibit.
Soabit.
Sibanga.
Tobpet.
Topisabit.
Tucubit.
Totabit.
Toibepet.
Tochonabit.
Tibajabit.
Tusicabit.
Tobanbepet.
Tameobit.
Tochajana.
Toibina.
Tobimobit.
Timijabit.
Tobonga.
Tobizcanga.
Taisobit.
Tomecupna.
Tujubit.
Uchubit.
Utucubit.
Yabit.

Mofras offers a *Pater Noster* in the language of the neophytes of San Gabriel. As it consists of only four lines, it is not worth reproducing. Mofras was very credulous when he had to depend upon the statements of others, who frequently took advantage of his simplicity.

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LAUS DEO

Distance to Mission San Juan Capistrano 18 leagues.
Distance to Mission San Fernando 9 leagues.

THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA

(*Correct dates of their founding*)

San Diego de Alcala, July 16, 1769.
San Carlos Borromeo, or Carmelo, June 3, 1770.
San Antonio de Padua, July 14, 1771.
San Gabriel, Arcangel, September 8, 1771.
San Luis Obispo, September 1, 1772.
San Francisco de Asis, or Dolores, June 29, 1776.
San Juan Capistrano, November 1, 1776.
Santa Clara de Asis, January 12, 1777.
San Buenaventura, March 31, 1782.
Santa Barbara, December 4, 1786.
La Purisima Concepcion, December 8, 1787.
Santa Cruz, August 28, 1791.
La Soledad, October 9, 1791.
San José, June 11, 1797.
San Juan Bautista, June 24, 1797.
San Miguel, Arcangel, July 25, 1797.
San Fernando Rey, September 8, 1797.
San Luis Rey, June 13, 1798.
Santa Inés, September 17, 1804.
San Rafael, Arcangel, December 14, 1817.
San Francisco Solano, July 4, 1823.

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